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ABSTRACT

Historical developments in higher education are considered in six articles. Topics include: evangelism at Harvard University in the early 1740s; the New Haven scholars of the 1860s and 1870s and the adaptation of scholarly approaches usually associated with the modern university to secure the religious ends associated with the old-time college; the founding of the Wellesley College community and the concept of community as it relates to the development of women's higher education around 1875; the establishment of a university college in a small Australian country town in 1938; the development of college teaching as a profession; and the evolution of Hebrew University in Israel. Titles and authors of the articles are as follows: "Henry Flynt and the Great Awakening at Harvard College (1741-1744)" (Edward T. Dunn); "Between the Old-Time College and the Modern University: Noah Porter and the New Haven Scholars" (Louise L. Stevenson); "Incipit Vita Nuova: Founding Ideals of the Wellesley College Community" (Patricia Palmieri); "Establishing a University in a Country Town: An Australian Case" (Bruce Mitchell); "From Tutor to Specialized Scholar: Academic Professionalization in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America" (Martin Finkelstein); and "Vision and Fulfillment: The Evolution of the Hebrew University, 1901-1950" (Yaacov Iram). (SW)

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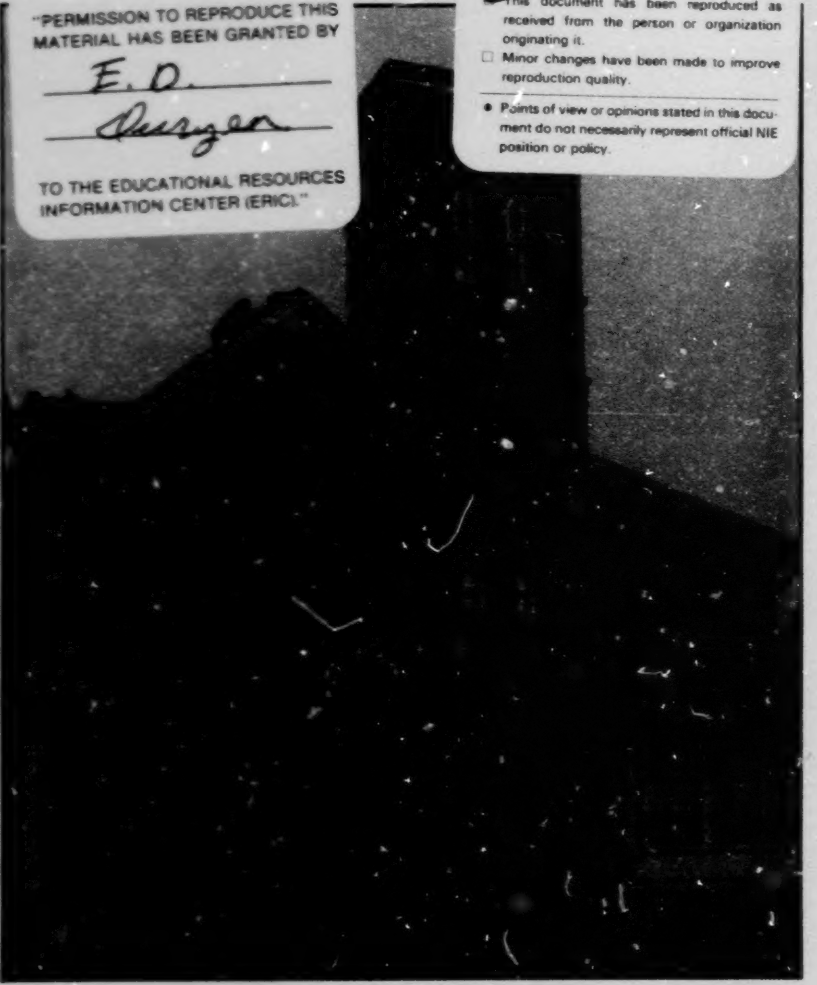

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CONTENTS

Henry Flynt and The Great Awakening at Harvard College (1741-1744)	*Edward T. Dunn*	3
Between the Old-Time College and the Modern University: Noah Porter and the New Haven Scholars	*Louise L. Stevenson*	39
Incipit Vita Nuova: Founding Ideals of the Wellesley College Community	*Patricia Palmieri*	59
Establishing a University in a Country Town: an Australian Case	*Bruce Mitchell*	79
From Tutor to Specialized Scholar: Academic Professionalization in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America	*Martin Finkelstein*	99
Vision and Fulfillment: The Evolution of the Hebrew University, 1901-1950	*Yaacov Iram*	123
The Authors		145

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The cover picture: New Jersey College (now Douglass College, Rutgers University) in the early 1920s.

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Henry Flynt and The Great Awakening at Harvard College (1741-1744)

Edward T. Dunn

THE GREAT AWAKENING REACHED New England on September 14, 1740, when George Whitefield landed at Newport, Rhode Island. Between then and October 29, this "Grand Itinerant" conducted what a recent historian of the revival has described as "the greatest single evangelistic tour of New England."[1] Whitefield preached at Cambridge, which he called "a University town," on September 24 and October 11.[2] On the latter occasion he addressed a huge audience which stood in the rain in front of the meeting house. He was followed by Gilbert Tennent, who arrived at Boston on December 13, commissioned by his predecessor "to blow up the divine fire lately kindled there."[3] When Tennent left New England early in March, 1741, Rev. Thomas Prince, minister at Boston's Old South Church and a leading proponent of the revival, testified that there "was such a time as we never knew," since "both people and ministers seemed under a divine influence to quicken each other."[4]

Henry Flynt enjoyed a unique perspective for commenting on these events. Son and grandson of ministers, a graduate of Harvard's class of 1693, tutor there since 1699 and unsuccessful candidate for several pulpits, Father Flynt had become a college character who struck up conversations with everyone he met.[5] An alumnus recalled that Flynt "was regarded as mild in his government of his pupils" and "would make an apology for them by remarking that wild colts often made good horses." His dry wit earned him the name of a humorist among his contemporaries who preserved anecdotes about him which evidence a crusty kindliness. Another graduate, who as a student had accompanied the seventy-eight year old Flynt on a trip to Portsmouth in the summer of 1754, recalled that the old man had "conversed freely and sociably on many topics (a thing then unusual for a tutor with an undergraduate.)"[6]

Whitefield and Tennent and their many imitators differed from the ponderous, moralistic, Harvard-trained divines of whom Flynt was a fair example and to whom New Englanders had grown accustomed. Whitefield's sermons were "simple, intrinsically logical, emotional, extemporaneous," while Tennent made up in directness what he lacked in oratorical gifts.[7] As reported by Nathaniel Leonard, prorevivalist minister at Plymouth, the subjects which formed the staple of their preaching were:

> the sin and apostasy of mankind in Adam; the blindness of the natural man in the things of God; the enmity of the carnal mind; the evil of sin; the desert of it; and the utter inability of the fallen creature to relieve itself; the sovereignty of God; his righteousness, holiness, truth, power, eternity; also his grace and mercy in Christ Jesus; the way of redemption by Christ; justification through his imputed righteousness, received by faith; this faith the gift of God, and a living principle, that worketh by love; legal and evangelical repentance; the nature and necessity of regeneration; and that without holiness no man can see God.[8]

With the reventilation of these fundamental Protestant principles, Leonard recalled "all persons were put upon examining themselves, warned against trusting in their own righteousness, and resting in the form of godliness, without the power." For supporters of the revival (soon to be called New Lights) this justification through faith followed upon a new birth, a recognizable inner experience, an account of which would enable others to judge the relator's state of soul and thus effect a purification of church and state. Eighty years after the introduction of the Half-Way Covenant, a once vital element of the New England Way was being resurrected.[9]

The revivalists' technique was to unsettle their listeners and to destroy their self-confidence as a prelude to reestablishing their hopes on God alone. The semi-humanism of the *de facto* Arminianism to which Flynt regularly subscribed called for a different approach.[10] Though he constantly summoned his audience and himself to conversion, Flynt insisted so emphatically on good works that they tended to take the place of an experienced new birth and could even be invoked to reassure the morally upright that they were saved. Almost thirty years before the Awakening, he noted that "many doubt whether they have a Justifying faith because of remainders of unbelief and because they can't believe their sins are forgiven though they sincerely love and make Conscience of Duty." Flynt assured such doubters that they "have true faith though they don't know it," a legalistic diagnosis anathema to the experimentally minded revivalists. For Flynt, morality substituted for conversion. "If your faith works by love to God and man," he wrote, "purges sin and worldly lusts and makes you thirst after and pray and Endeavour for holyness Obedience further conversion it is true faith."[11] For Whitefield, on the contrary, faith did not admit of degrees and the notion of further conversion was nonsense. The Bishop of London had stated the year before Whitefield came to New England that "one who contented himself with a bare bodily attendance upon the public worship to God, and following his daily employment on other days, and with abstaining from the more gross and notorious acts of sin, and from doing any hurt or injury to his neighbour, and has rested finally upon these, as the whole that Christianity requires of him," was "yet in an imperfect state;" to which Whitefield retorted that such a one was "in no state of Christianity at all, but a reprobate, — at present out of a state of salvation."[12]

On October 12, 1740, the day after Whitefield had preached at Cambridge for the second time and the day of his farewell sermon at Boston, Flynt, "having heard the preaching and had something of the Conversation of the famed Mr. George Whitefield," recorded his first impressions. He found the revivalist "about 26 years of age very popular and affecting in delivery and address not rational nor argumentative in his discourses nor useth much Scripture in Confirmation of his points," none of which appealed to the sixty-four year old tutor whose orderly, turgid, quotation-studded sermons epitomized what the Awakening was reacting against.[13]

Flynt's estimate of Whitefield's preaching paralled that later given by Joshua Hempsted of New London to the oratory of a caricature of Whitefield, Rev. James Davenport. "It was all Meer Confused Medley," wrote Hempsted, who would doubtless have preferred the well-structured sermons of Flynt, "he had no Text nor Bible visable, no Doctrine, uses nor Improvement nor anything else that was Regular."[14] Flynt's strictures and those of his colleagues matured into *The Testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College in Cambridge against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield* in which the hero of the Awakening was told frankly that:

> It is observable that your extempore Preachers give us almost the same things in the applicatory Part of their Sermons, so that it is often very little akin to their Text, which is just opened in a cursory, and not seldom in a perverted Manner, and then comes the same kind of Harrangue which they have often used before as an Application; so that this is a most lazy Manner, and the Preacher offers that which cost him nothing, and is accordingly little instructive to the Mind.[15]

This was in the future when Flynt put down his first impressions of Whitefield. After observing that the revivalist "has a good deal of action [a rhetorical term denoting gestures] by Lifting up and Spreading out his hands in prayer and preaching and his action well enough suits his Zeal," the fastidious Flynt demonstrated the gap which had come to separate himself from the founders of Massachusetts by remarking that Whitefield "has the old new England and puritanick way of thinking and preaching about regeneration and conversion and Justification by faith alone Original Sin etc." Divines like Flynt are known as Old Lights, yet, on Flynt's own showing, the real Old Lights were Whitefield and his followers.

However, although the most learned American theologian of the age, Jonathan Edwards, was sympathetic to the New Lights, the typical revivalist differed from seventeenth century Puritans in his attitude toward learning. Whitefield, Flynt stated, "seems to be a man not much acquainted with books and indeed has had but Little time for it which makes me wonder at his positive and dogmatical way of expressing himself in some things." For Flynt, a minister was a devout but learned expositor of scripture. In Whitefield, intuition and enthusiasm had combined to produce a combative warmth, categorical dogmatism, and intolerance toward compromises with fundamental Protestantism. "He appears to be a good man," Flynt conceded, "and sincerely desirous to do good to the souls of Sinners," but "is very apt to Judge hardly and censure in the Serverest terms those that differ from his scheme."[16]

That the revivalists judged others rashly was to be a capital charge against them by their enemies who repeated the accusation of censoriousness until it became a party cry. Yet, given the revivalist insistence on the primacy of felt conversion, it was difficult for them not to judge themselves and others. The antirevivalists believed that their latitudinarianism had put them beyond criticism and failed to realize that their own it was, at the very least, nothing more than a "scheme of divinity" and, to the revivalists, heresy.

Another epithet the Old Lights would soon be hurling at their enemies was "enthusiast." Enthusiasm was as popular in respectable eighteenth century circles as communism on Wall Street today, evoking images of fanatical Anabaptists or raging Antinomians. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives as the eighteenth century definition of the word, "ill regulated or misdirected religious emotion." Flynt's analysis of Whitefield, composed when the Awakening of New England was less than a month old, discovered both censoriousness and enthusiasm in the great revivalist. "He seems to mee," wrote Flynt, "to be a pious Zealous man of good natural parts and

Stile good enough but over Censorious over rash and over Confident in somethings Enthusiastical and whimsycal." The late elegant stylist, John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury and idol of Flynt and Latitudinarians generally, had recently fallen under Whitefield's censure, which prompted Flynt to remark that "he has treated the great and good Bishop Tillotson Injuriously and Scurrilously."[17] The following story about Flynt dates from this period:

> In a company of gentlemen, where Father Flynt, who was a preacher and many years a tutor at Cambridge, was present, Mr. Whitefield said: "It is my opinion, that Dr. Tillotson is now in hell for his heresy." Father Flynt replied: "It is my opinion, that you will not meet him there."[18]

As the lines between New and Old Lights hardened, the latter began to raise suspicions about Whitefield's handling of the funds collected for his orphan asylum in Georgia. Flynt, who knew a pound when he saw one, had doubts about Whitefield on this score from the beginning. After registering somewhat unconvincingly the hope that the revival would redound to "the benefit of many souls," Flynt added, "Tis certain his orphan home at Georgia wil reap great benefit by it for tis reckoned he has collected contributions of money to the value of near £2500 already besides other gratuitys." Ever the advocate of steady habits, Flynt hinted at another objection to the revival of which more would be heard in the future, that is that the lower classes were being taken from their regular occupations. "The time and other Charges in Peoples following his preaching is valued by some at £1000 per diem . . . All sorts have attended his preaching and have contributed." Flynt's conclusion to his first assessment of Whitefield nonetheless revealed a lingering sympathy with the revivalist's goals: "I think he is a composition of a great deal of good and some bad and I pray to God to grant him Success to what is wel designed and acted by him."[19]

Whitefield and Flynt's Harvard eventually became open enemies, but the seeds of conflict were present from their first confrontation. On his first visit to the College, Whitefield did not like what he saw, writing in his journal that Harvard was "scarce as big as one of our least colleges at Oxford and as far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities in piety and true godliness." "Tutors," he claimed, "neglect to pray with and examine the hearts of their pupils." Bad books," he added in the spirit of the late Cotton Mather, "are become fashionable among them." "Tillotson and [Samuel] Clark[e, an Arian as well as an Arminian] are read," he noted, "instead of [Samuel] Sheppard, [Solomon] Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers; and therefore I chose to preach from these words, — 'We are not as many, who corrupt the word of God;' — and, in the conclusion of my sermon, I made a close application to tutors and students." The day he left New England he wrote in his journal that most of the ministers there "do not experimentally know Christ," and asserted that, "as for the universities, I believe it may be said their light is become darkness, Darkness that may be felt, and is complained of by the most godly ministers."[20]

Conversion, revivalist style, had no attraction for Flynt. In his first sacrament day reflection after Whitefield's departure, Flynt was still goading himself on to the sober, Pelagian kind of closing with Christ for which he had been unsuccessfully striving for decades. "Christ is yet offering himself to be my saviour on the best terms that can be devised or thought on," he wrote as a prelude to answering the question, "Whose offer shall I embrace Christs or the Worlds and my Lusts?" "Why doe I halt between two opinions?" he continued, "why do I not close in with all his counsels deny myself take up the cross and follow my saviour?"[21] For Flynt, conversion was a matter of human choice expressed in the language of the counting house, whereas for Whitefield it was abandonment to a divine seizure.

In January, 1741, while Tennent was evangelizing eastern Massachusetts in Whitefield's footsteps, Flynt described the impact upon Harvard of the two itinerants. Nathaniel Appleton, minister at Cambridge, had become "more close and affecting in preaching after Mr. Whitefields being here." Moreover, "many Schollars appeared to be in great concern as to their souls and Eternal state," a condition heightened "by discourse and talk with [one] another and seeing one anothers concern." By conversation and observation Flynt was able to compile a list of thirty concerned students, whom he listed as follows: Joshua Prentiss '38, Charles Gleason '38, Daniel Emerson '39, Edward Winslow '41, Timothy Prout '41, John Roberts '41, John Carnes '42, John Mellen '41, Samuel Checkley '43, Benjamin Brandon '42, Joseph Swain '44, James Wellman '44, James Allin '42, Isaiah Dunster '41, Samuel Breck '42, Harper Hall '42, Benjamin Toppan '42, Nathaniel Trask '42, Samuel Cooper '41, Samuel Fayerweather '43, Jonathan Mayhew '44, Lothrop Russell '43, John Chandler '43, Joseph Waldo '41, Joseph Roby '42, Adam Bullard '42, James Otis '43.[22]

Since there were 134 undergraduates at Harvard at the time, Flynt's count of 27 (the first three in the above list were resident graduates) as stirred by the Awakening constituted 29 percent of the student body. His enumeration may not be complete, since the largest number listed for any class, twelve, was from his own class of 1742, with which he had closest contact. While 58 or 38 percent of the 134 graduates later became ministers, fifteen or forty-five percent of Flynt's concerned entered the ministry. However these figures are interpreted, it should be noted that at least five of these 15 are listed as Old Lights by Clifford K. Shipton in his *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, the most noteworthy being the extremely liberal Jonathan Mayhew. An initial openness to the revival did not guarantee lifelong adherence to its theology. Five of Flynt's awakened became New Light Ministers, while one became an Anglican minister. Benjamin Colman, minister at Brattle Street Church in Boston, thought the revival had a greater impact at the College than did Flynt. "I was told Yesterday," he wrote Whitefield in March, 1741, on the state of religious excitement at Harvard, "that not seven of a Hundred remain unaffected."[23]

The affected students manifested their piety in various ways. "They prayed together," Flynt wrote, "sang Psalms and discoursed together 2 or 3 at a time and read good books such as [Richard] Baxters call Allens [Joseph Alleine] Alarm Stoddards guide to Christ Shepards Sincere Convert." More than a year later, Flynt advised a student who was being unsettled by the extravagant evangelist, Andrew Croswell, minister at Groton "to attend to his proper business diligently to pray and read the Scriptures and good practical books. Mentioned Allens Alarm Baxter Mr. [Thomas] Flavel Thomas Akempis etc. especially the gospels and the new Testament."[24] These titles were similar to those which Rev. Thomas Prince ("dear Mr. Prince" to radical itinerants like Croswell and Eleazar Weelock) delighted to discover had regained popularity during the Awakening. Speaking of this period, Prince recalled that:

> The people seemed to have a renewed taste for those old pious and experimental writers Mr. Hooker, Shepard, Gurnal, William Guthrie, Joseph Alein, Isaac Ambrose, Dr. Owen, and others; as well as later — such as Mr. Mead, Flavel, Shaw, Willard, Stoddard, Dr. Increase and Cotton Mather, Mr. Mather of Windsor, Mr. Boston etc. The evangelical writings of these deceased authors, as well as of others alive, both in England, Scotland and New England, were now read with singular pleasure; some of them reprinted and in great numbers quickly bought and studied.[25]

Though the books which Flynt had been reading and lending to students and friends for decades were often Anglican works which featured a rationalist approach to theology, to meet the needs created by the Awakening he fell back on earlier Puritan writings on conversion or modern representatives of that tradition, works which he described as "practical." He had been bred to this tradition and never completely deserted it. Hence, on the level of devotional literature, he was in agreement with the learned traditionalist, Prince. Flynt, however, had never previously recorded the loan of any of the titles which he recommended during the Awakening. Moreover, he loaned two Anglican devotional works, Henry Scougal's *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* (1677) and Bishop William Beveridge's *Private Thoughts on Religion* (1709), to young men at Harvard who had been touched by the revival.[26]

What Prince liked about the books he rejoiced to see being read was that they were old, pious, experimental, and evangelical; or, if not old, at least written in the spirit of the older Puritan works. He evidently regarded these books as an antidote to the modern, cold, abstract, and rationalist writings which had shaped Flynt's preaching and dominated his reading. Yet in the long run these Puritan authors did not give much comfort to the radical wing of the revivalists. In composing *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (1743), a root and branch demolition of the Awakening, Charles Chauncy, pastor of the First Church in Boston, incorporated whole sections from Flavel, Shepard, and Owen. These were sober spiritual writers who appealed to Prince as well as to Flynt and Chauncy because they dealt with the theology, psychology, and recognizability of conversion, subjects which the revival had made timely once more.

Joseph Alleine's *Alarme to Unconverted Sinners* (1673), which was reprinted during the Awakening, was a treatise on which Flynt and Prince agreed. In seven chapters, Alleine, an ejected minister who despised the formality of Anglicanism and gloried in being called a precisian, explained what conversion was and what it was not, demonstrated its necessity, described the unconverted state, and supplied motives and directions for attaining conversion. Naturally, he prefaced his treatise by denying that the unregenerate could do anything to achieve conversion, since by definition they were spiritually dead because of original sin and since conversion was a supernatural work. He paid his respects to the doctrine of election, but he eluded the trap this might have caught him in by telling the unconverted sinner, "Thou beginnest at the wrong end, if thou disputest first about thine election: Prove thy conversion and then never doubt of thine election."[27]

Alleine laid down directions for conversion in thirteen rules which imposed upon the supposedly spiritually dead converted a brisk round of introspection and moral effort. The essence of the conversion aimed at by

Alleine was a radically changed outlook which manifested itself in conduct of the highest order, a state akin to the "new sense" of the truths of the gospel attained by those who, in Jonathan Edwards' analysis, had received the gift of the spirit."[28] The style of the *Alarm* was plain and personal. The author reasoned with, begged and cajoled the sinner, but realized that few would listen to him. He opposed trusting in one's own righteousness, but his moral perfectionism was poles apart from the alleged antinomianism of those revivalists who, as Flynt was later informed, belittled good works. Though the Awakening was a reaction to Arminianism, an acceptable Puritan like Alleine in a vein indistinguishable from Arminius could urge sinners, "Do not stand still, disputing about thine election, but set to work repenting and believing," and in a vein similar to Flynt write, "Whatever the Decrees of Heaven be, I am sure that if I repent and believe, I shall be saved, and that if I repent not, I shall be damned."[29]

After sketching the general manifestations of the spirit at Harvard, Flynt described the experiences of several students. Joseph Roby "had a vision of Hell Open himself and Others dropping in." John Roberts told Flynt that "he had been under convictions some years part after which he had particular consolation which came to him by Sweet Communion with God in prayer." John Carnes told his tutor that "he was under great Sorrows [but] after[wards] had Sweet Temper of Soul by Love to Christ his word his commands Ordinances after a succession of Clouds and Comforts."[30]

These boys had obviously imbibed the popular revivalist teaching on the preludes, nature, and cognoscibility of conversion, lessons which, when they applied them to the state of their own and others' souls, Flynt found unacceptable. Roberts told Flynt:

> . . . that he perceived one viz. Sir Emerson before his convictions to be in a natural Estate, that others had some Light and joy but not of the true and right sort. He feared Pemberton had had convictions but told him he did not care To Speak of them which he roberts imputed to the pride of his heart for which I checked him for his Censure. [I] told [him] that some were of such a Temper.

Nonetheless, Roberts had further information on his schoolmates to communicate to his tutor:

> One viz. Fairweather pretended to see the divil in Shape of a bear coming to his bedside. Others viz. Winslow and

> Brandon burst into a Laugh when talking of the day of Judgment which they imputed to the Divils temptation. Another viz. Cooper did so in prayer with Hall at which Hal was frightened and went to Roberts complaining and Cooper was Sorry being moved to Laughter by Brinleys talking at the door.[31]

A confrontation between opposed theories of conversion was presented to Flynt by Carnes who reported that Adam Bullard "was on a poor foundation because he designed apply himself to prayer and amendment of Life as a remedy under his convictions whereas he [Carnes] told him he must rely not on his own Dutys but on the merits and righteousness of Christ," a procedure Flynt regarded as putting the cart before the horse. Carnes also confided to Flynt his fears that "his father was not converted [because] his prayers were so formal and insipid;" while Roberts announced that Samuel Breck "had some illumination in Singing but Roberts fears not true and right." Flynt let this pass, but when Roberts went on to relate a discussion he had with George Eveleigh on "the free grace of God in Election and of the [divine] decrees," Flynt cut him short, saying that "the almightys decrees were above them and they should not trouble themselves about them."[32]

This did not stop Roberts from reporting further on the effects of the revival upon his fellows. Edward Winslow, he related, "is said to be very careful and concerned in self Examination Least he should deceive himself." Benjamin Brandon, "being asked when going to Boston how he felt himself . . . answered that he was carrying a heavy heart to Boston." Of some students, particularly Breck, Flynt had heard complaints, but he was less critical at this point of the revival than he had been previously:

> The most of the Look serious and concerned attend their business pray and Sing some fast as I hear. Many if not all mean wel. Some have Extravagances and errors of a weak and warm Imagination. I have talkt with several. Observed some more converted some more humble and sincere some more Ignorant but hope they mean wel. We that are rulers here Should watch against Corruptions that may arise from this affair against the devices of Satan and Pray for ourselves and them that the true work of grace may be promoted Obviate ill things and Encourage that which is good. We need help wisdom and prudence

> and must pray for it. [We] must be Sober and vigilant because of the enemy.[33]

Other prominent inhabitants of Massachusetts were much more enthusiastic about this first stage of the Awakening at Harvard than Flynt. Writing to Whitefield, Josiah Willard, secretary of the province, described the crowds that flocked to the Boston churches of John Webb, Joseph Sewall, and William Cooper; "but that which forbodes a more lasting Advantage," he added:

> . . . is the new Face of things at the College, where the impressions of Religion have been, and still are very general and many in a judgment of Charity brought home to Christ; and divers Gentlemens Sons, that were sent there only for a polite Education, are now so full of Zeal for the Cause of Christ, and of love to Souls, as to devote themselves entirely to the Studies of Divinity.[34]

And Benjamin Colman wrote to Whitefield that "the College is a new Creature; the students full of God, and hope to come out Blessings in their Generation and hope to be so now at each other." "Many of them are now, we think, truly born again, and several of them happy Instruments of Conversion to their Fellows," he asserted, adding that "the Voice of Prayer and Praise fills their Chambers; and the Sincerity, Fervency, and Joy, the Seriousness of their Heart sits visibly on their Faces."[35] At this rapturous moment, Colemen regarded the signs of true conversion as easily detectible.

Shortly after Flynt's reflection on the Awakening at Harvard, Whitefield's journal appeared in print, with its uncomplimentary remarks about the College. Flynt ignored this development in his diary at least, but his friend William Brattle, protesting, like the politician he was, that he was "a true and hearty lover of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield [and one who] thinks that he has been instrumental in awakening and Stirring up People to a serious Concern for the Salvation of their precious Souls," filled several issues of the Boston *Gazette* with a refutation of Whitefield's slanders. To the charge that discipline at the college was at low ebb, Brattle delivered a flat denial, asserting that he knew whereof he spoke since he had lived "at the College in two Presidents' time [John Leverett and Benjamin Wadsworth] both very excellent Men; the first particularly remarked for being a Man of Authority." To the accusation that "tutors neglect to pray with and examine the hearts of their pupils," a charge the evangelicals had been making since Cotton Mather's time, Brattle replied that conducting prescribed prayers at the college was not the function of the tutors but of the president. Concerning spiritual direction, he insisted that "the Tutors do talk with their Pupils about their Souls as Occasion requires." I was when at College under Mr. Flynt," he reminisced, "who to my certain Knowledge was very faithful as to that Particular [duty]."[36]

Harvard's overseers were stung by Whitefield's charge that the students were not receiving spiritual direction and in April, 1741, recommended "to the President and Tutours Professors and Instructors by personal Applications to the Students under such impressions and by all other suitable methods to Encourage and promote this good work [the revivalist name for the Awakening.]" Yet, while most overseers may have favored the revival, some probably promoted spiritual direction in order to ward off disorder. While they thanked God for the "late happy impressions" which were miraculously impelling the boys to attend more faithfully "than usual the excercises of the Professours and Tutours," the overseers also convoked a prayer meeting to implore divine direction in managing the revival at the college.[37]

Whitefield had also deplored the reading by students of Tillotson and Clarke instead of Shepard and Stoddard, to which Brattle replied:

> If he means by the Undergraduates, it is a mistake, they do not read them; if he means the Graduates, I believe they do read Tillotson, and I hope they will but not in the room and stead of Bishop Hopkins, Bishop Pearson, Dr. Bates, Mr. How[e], Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, and Dr. Wates [i.e., Isaac Watts], who were as Great and Good Men as Mr. Shepard and Mr. Stoddard.

A former student and lifelong friend of Flynt, Brattle placed two Anglican authors at the head of his list of approved divines and he stated that "there are a great many excellent and good things in Dr. Tillotson." Brattle recalled that Whitefield, who professed to admire New England's own Solomon Stoddard, had taken issue with him about "about unconverted Ministers where by the way Mr. Stoddard was perfectly right in my Opinion, as also in his thoughts about unconverted Persons going to the Sacrament," an indication of where Brattle and probably Flynt stood on restricting church membership to visible saints.[38]

From Henry Newman, Flynt's London cousin and secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, propaganda arm of the Church of England, came another endorsement of Tillotson. "I wish I could say more than I can," he told a correspondent, "of Mr. Whitefield's prudence for treating the memory of Archbishop and the author of the *Whole Duty of Man* as he has done after their labours have passed in the world, and done perhaps as much as any two authors in the last, and I may add, the present century:"[39]

> As to the students reading Dr. Clark[e] and other Arian Writers," Brattle continued, "I believe they never did," an assertion he qualified by adding, "True it is, that about the year 1736, Dr. Clark[e] and many books much worse than his were read, and some were then given up to strong Delusions; and began to deny the God that brought them; immediately upon which the Divinity Professor [Edward Wigglesworth] labored more abundantly in asserting and proving the important Truths then denied; and by the Blessing of God upon his learned and faithful Endeavours, a Stop was put there to.

This incident refutes the contention of Shipton that eighteenth century New England ministers did not want to discuss the Trinity because they were so uncertain of it.[40]

At the end of his apologia, Brattle begged leave "to observe that by Mr. Whitefield's and Mr. Tennent's Preaching there, the Scholars in general, have been wonderfully wrought upon, and their Enquiry now is, What shall we do to be saved?" As a politician, he dared not buck the popular revival, a restraint inoperative in Flynt's case. Reechoing Flynt's account of the origin of the students' spiritual exhilaration, Brattle said that Whitefield and Tennet "have planted, Mr. Appleton hath watered; and a blessed watering it hath been."[41]

While Brattle was defending Harvard in the press, Flynt penned another reflection on the revival which he now conceded might be a divine work. With Appleton still in his revivalist phase, Flynt was grudgingly willing to give the Awakening the benefit of the doubt. "Lord pity this college," he wrote on April 23, 1741, "Pardon its Sins and provocations carry on convictions and awakenings in the hearts of Scholars to sound conversion. Lord Let not thy Spirit Leave us and withdraw." Something in Whitefield's message appealed to the pietistic strain in Flynt, but the conversions he wished to see from the revival had to be "sound." Ever the ecclesiastic, he prayed for grace "to doe what I can to promote and serve thy good work [and] think seriously what I have to doe in this time of awakening." For a few fleeting moments he saw himself as possibly the one to rescue the revival from its excesses. "It may be," he pondered, "God wil work some spiritual good by mee if I am faithful at this time." Struck by the number of young people caught up in the Awakening and recalling that God "had been killing multitudes of them by the throat distemper [i.e., diptheria]," he asked God:

> Wilt thou punish the Old for their neglect and contempt of thee in taking away their Children beforehand preparing them for thyself? Or art thou trying and proving us by this Light and convictions of thy Spirit as thou didst the Jews by the preaching and miracles of Christ and his apostles that upon our abusing Light and grace way may be made for thy great judgments upon a Sinful Land?

With this grim alternative, Flynt reverted to an older, covenantal approach to the problem of God *versus* New England which he occasionally used in his sermons and which was not a mark of the individualistic revival.[42]

This reflection, nonetheless, ended on a distinctly revivalist note: "O Let us not Stiffle convictions quench and grieve the Spirit of God resist the Light Least our bands be made strong and our plagues wonderful." This attitude remained two months later, as Flynt spurred himself on with the thought that "it is an awakening time and shal I Sleep when others are awake and under concern?" With his usual caution, however, he observed that "some are awake but not to repentance and thorough Conversion but fall asleep again." That the theology behind the Awakening had touched something in his religious makeup he revealed by confessing that "a Natural estate is a dead perishing estate" and by resolving to "be born again and become a New Creature," sentiments which lay at the heart of the revival.[43]

That summer, Whitefield "on board the Mary Ann bound from London to Scotland" wrote to the students at Harvard and Yale that "it was no small Grief to me that I was obliged to say of your Colleges that your Light was become Darkness, yet are ye becoming Light in the Lord." It must have infuriated Flynt to be told that Harvard, where he had been piously laboring for over forty years, had been spiritually blacked out until the advent of this young upstart. The rest of the faculty was equally incensed and awaited a favorable opportunity to reply.[44] Their ruffled feelings were not smoothed by Whitefield's hopes, expressed to the students, that "the good old Divinity will now be precious to your souls."[45]

Next spring found Flynt distributing reading matter to shape the thinking of his Quincy kinfolk on the revival. On April 22, 1742, he noted: "I owe Mr. Eliot 20*s* for 10 of Mr. Appletons Sermons 5 of which I desired to deliver to Cozens Edmund and Josiah Quincys and to Cozens Wendal Richards and Jackson."[46] He was referring to two of his pastor's sermons "occasioned by the late preaching of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield." In the first of these sermons, delivered as early as November 30, 1740, when Whitefield had been gone from New England for only a month, Flynt's pastor explained his support of the revival. Indicating his agreement with the revivalists' estimate of the religious state of the country on the eve of the Awakening, Appleton stated that "it has been but a dead and dull Time with us upon spiritual Accounts of late, but small Additions made to the Church, but few coming in to own the Covenant, and give themselves to God." "But blessed be God," he announced, "there seems now some Revival among us, there are more affected, awakened, and convinced and put upon their Duty than is common among us."[47]

The improvement was ascribed to the "heart preaching" of Whitefield. Ministers, Appleton declared in a passage which showed his dissatisfaction with the preaching long current in New England, must not only inform the understandings of their listeners, "but must endeavour to persuade their Wills; must not only store their Minds with speculative Truths, but should endeavour so to impress it upon their hearts and Consciences, that it may take Root in their Hearts, so as it may bring forth Fruit in their Lives." Yet he warned against dangers, comparing Whitefield with Apollos, a convert of Paul described in Acts 18:24-28 as "a bright young man" who, "altho' he knew a great deal of Christ and as much as could be expected, considering his Advantages, yet . . . was ignorant of some Things, that even private Christians were acquainted with."[48]

Like Flynt, Appleton detected lacunae in Whitefield's theological preparation. He wished, therefore, to drive home the lesson that in a divine work success was due to God alone. In a prescient passage, Appleton warned his congregation that "altho' they may, and will love, and honour that Minister, by whom the Word of Salvation is brought unto them . . . yet they must not have their Persons in too great Admiration, nor make too great Discrimination between them and other faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ." The revival could not be permitted to topple the standing ministry.

Moreover, Appleton, like Flynt who was his former tutor, was no exponent of the sudden, sure, and sensibly felt conversion propounded by the revivalists. "And, therefore, instead of being too positive or too confident of your safe Estate, by reason of some Convictions, and some Joy and Comfort that has succeeded them," he warned his hearers, "I would advise you to a surer Sign, and what may more safely be depended on; and that is your bringing forth fruit with Patience, or Perserverence."[49] Flynt, whose initial suspicions about the movement developed after a brief remission into determined opposition, differed with Appleton more in style than substance. Hence, he could use even his pastor's first sermons on the Awakening to dampen any untoward enthusiasm among the Quincys. By the time Appleton preached the annual sermon before the Massachusets convention of ministers in 1743, he was denouncing itinerant and ignorant ministers as busybodies; and in 1745, on the occasion of Whitefield's second visit to New England, Appleton denied him the Cambridge pulpit and tried to keep him from preaching in the common.[50]

A week before arranging for his cousins to receive copies of Appleton's sermons, Flynt composed further reflections on the Awakening in which it is apparent that his own enthusiasm, never uncritical, had died. It was a day "of humiliation for Sin and Judgment," and Flynt felt that "this Land has great reason for both." He was disturbed by the disruptive social and theological effects of the revival in general and of several rabid itinerants in particular, and he filled four pages with extreme excoriation. He had been perfectly satisfied with the devotional round of sermons, sabbaths, and fast, sacrament, and humiliation days, all of which were called ordinances or means of grace; but the country, duped by the revivalists, was deserting the unifying the tried, and the true in favor of the divisive, the new, and the false:

> Iniquity abounds and Love waxeth cold. There is great selfishness and unrighteousness overeaching oppression contempt of God and Christ and his Ordinances and means of grace. People wil not bear sound doctrine but after their own Lusts heap up teachers to themselves. Having itching ears they run from the truth and follow after fables. There is great profaness amongst us much hypocrisy false pretences. [There is] Like to be much division contention uncharitableness. We hanker after a form of words and notions and Shows and religion but deny the power. Things seem to be tending to atheism profaness wasting [illegible] the power and truth of religion.[51]

That atheism was at least a by-product of the revival was soon to be admitted by Appleton; but, whereas Flynt attributed it to the ridicule brought on religion by the revival, Appleton in his sermon to the ministers of the province ascribed it to the polemic of discrediting the Awakening as "if it was a meer Chimera, and had no Existence but in Men's fancies, as if all was Enthusiasm, A Dream and a Delusion," a conclusion which was then extended to religion in general.[52]

That the tenuous ecclesiastical unity of New England had been shattered pained Flynt greatly. The "free and catholick" spirit to which he subscribed was ostensibly irenic, but the popular revival teaching on conversion had induced conflict into the province's religious life and threatened the hegemony of its religious leaders. Hence Flynt asked in dismay, "Are people prepared to fast to God or rather for Strife and debate and so Smite with the fist of wickedness?" Perfunctorily, he "hoped that many of Late have been touched at the heart and brought under concern about their Spiritual and Eternal Estate seeking after Salvation and Sincerity in religion," but he was certain that "others are carryed away with every wind of Doctrine seeking to make a Show and Setting up a party pretending Zeal boasting high minded ful of pride and conceit dispising others and runing headlong into flame and contention." "Some," he went on, probably with Appleton in mind, "are moderate and Cautious humbled and concerned whether these things tend to and to what Event they wil come rejoicing in and countenancing that which is good and fearful of that which is Evil and Least the Devil should take advantage against us as he is watchful to doe and in many things does doe it."[53]

Answering the question, "How ought we behave in such times as these are?" Flynt came up with some deceptively simple prescriptions and also made clear his attitude toward itinerant preachers and lay exhorters:

> Doubtless we ought to keep close to God and Christ and the whole word of God. If we deviate from that rule we shal goe into the paths of the destroyed and goe of[f] from the foundation and Lose ourselves in a mist and Labarinth of delusion and Error. We should countenance and promote that which is really and truly good and discourage irregular and disorderly things as night Singings in Streets and public places til 12 a clock at night as [Samuel] Buel at Charlstown prayings in public places at [illeg.] by private persons, and persons not instructed not prepared by Study of the Scriptures or divinity to goe about Exhorting as they call it which puffs them up with conceit and quickly wil vent Errors their own Lusts and passions and through pride Stir up contention and teach rebellion and disobedience.

> We ought to discountenance impudence censoriousness Judging the hearts of others boasting and vaunting of high attainments in religion as some doe pretending to Know whether they are converted that is (as they think) brought under concern and distress for a time even a short time and then suddainly Joyous and comfortable upon which Mr. Croswel pretends that he has never doubted of his good Estate this Six year though he appears to be a very impudent man which he calls boldness and Zeal though it is apparent he has not that regard to truth that a Conscientious man ought to have and Judges persons to Hell that differ from in opinion about disputable Schems of thinking as to doctrine in religion affirming with positiveness that those that differ from calvinism or against the good work with the Extravagancies and disorders that by his means particularly attend it are damned.[54]

The revival was undermining the basis of the New England way which rest upon the Bible as the rule of faith but only as explained by an educated ministry. It was also destroying the authority of the *sacerdotium* by subjecting ministers to the subjective criterion of a dangerously univocal notion of conversion. "Upon such notions and principles," Flynt noted that Croswell:

> . . . has publickly in great assemblys declared that half the ministers in Connecticut and this province are unconverted (meaning according to his notions of conversion) and gives this reason for his so saying because others particularly Wheelock told him so and at the same time says he don't personally know half of them and probably not a quarter. He prayed at the Tavern over a dish of Tea that the unconverted minister of Waymouth [William Smith] might be converted or removed from his office and when said Minister Spoke to him about it he denyed the fact and said he prayed that If he was unconverted he might be removed. The minister told him there was no Ifs nor Ands in the case and he had four witnesses to prove it. He also in the hearing of this minister called the reverend Mr. [Nathaniel] Eeles of Situate . . . an old unconverted wretch because in some discourse he differed from [him] in sentiments.[55]

But it was Croswell's attack on Harvard and Yale for teaching Arminianism — a charge which, at least in Flynt's case, was well founded — that provoked the tutor's special ire:

> He thus publickly in great assemblys accused the Presidents and Instructors and Governours of both Colledges of arminianism and as Enemys to the work of God though he knows Little or Nothing of the one and added as I was Informed by one of his hearers that he knew what he said to be true which is certainly impossible for he had never talked to any of them about principles but said he Judged of President [Edward] Holyoke [of Harvard] by one passage in his convention Sermon which no body but he has been known to except against and as to President [Thomas] Clap [of Yale] he says in his great pride and rashness that he'l doe his utmost to get him removed which a man in his mean Station would not say if his heard did not abound with pride and folly and a good deal of malice to[o].[56]

Croswell's assault on Harvard, Flynt learned from a boy at the College, involved undermining the confidence in the institution of scholars, their parents, and of conservative ministers in the province:

> Fairweather told me that Mr. Croswel told him that the President and Tutors were arminians and against the work of God and he advised him not to mind what they said and he heard him say publickly that Parents had better take away their Children from College and give them a private Education and perswaded Carnes and I think Fairweather to preach at Least as soon as they took their degrees and offered them his pulpit and would have had Carnes to goe with him and Study divinity with him. I perceive Fairweather is weak and in danger of Conceit upon Little Foundation. . . . Fairweather said that Carnes has such Love to souls and Zeal for their Salvation that he wil tis Like be disposed to preach soon possibly soon after he has taken his first degree. He said that Mr. Prince and Dr. Sewal askt him how the Schollars was from the tutors not advising them about Spiritual things and that

> Some Ministers of Boston and Charlstown had told Croswel as he said that the President and Tutours were arminians and against the work of God.[57]

At least one college official was subjected to direct, personal attack by this troublesome revivalist. "I hear," Flynt jotted down, "that Mr. Croswel askt Mr. [Judah] Monis [Hebrew instructor at Harvard] of his Experiences as he passed by his house and Signifyed he intended to write against the College and when Mr. Monis Spoke in its behalf he told him he had a few pounds for nothing and therefore Stood by the College."[58]

Croswel, Flynt complained, "has raved from Plymoth to Charlstown against the College and its Governours and the greatest part of the ministers and some in Boston." The social impact of this assault was not lost on the tutor. The people, he observed, "love to hear and follow his preaching from town to town many being puffed up in themselves and levened with ill dispositions against the College [and] Ministers having both in Contempt even some woemen saying they believed that their ministers are converted Limiting the nature of conversion to their own particular ways of thinking about it that is suddain and temporary turns of destress and Joy." Where such levelling of ministers and people would lead, Flynt did not know. "Wil not such a Scheme of Notions tend to put any country or place in the world into great disorders and Confusion and what wil be the End of it and who wil be able to Lay these Confusions blessed Confusions as they call them." The solution was "keeping our Eye fixed upon the rules of Christ and his inspired apostles in the new Testament a rule approved by the Church experienced by Christians in all ages to be good and approved by Universal reason and Let us watch against hypocrisy Censoriousness Judging Uncharitableness which tends to division Contentions and every evil work as contempt of Superiors rebellion in inferiors ranting in forms of words and Sounds and Notions boasting of false gifts and vaunting of high attainments the bane of all true religion."[59]

In sanctification, as Flynt read the New Testament, "whatever impressions are made on our Spirits or good dispositions produced in us either by the word or providences of God as to things of a Spiritual or divine nature they are to be attributed to the Spirit and Energy of a divine power on our hearts and minds altering and Influencing our Understandings wils and affections and prevailing upon us to prefer and mind things Spiritual and Eternally good more than things worldly and temporal." He admitted that "this prevailance of one principle and affection above another — for there is always something of both whilst we are in the world and body — we had need always be solicitous and concerned about for our own Security and satisfaction;" but against the revivalists he added that "it is very difficult for us to Judg and determine about it as to others and tis none of our buisness according to that rule of our Savior Judg not that ye be not Judged with many other rules in Scripture to the same purpose and yet contrary to reason and Scripture there are many in these days make it too much their buisness and practice defeating thereby the good Ends and designs of these mentioned rules of Christ and his apostles at the same time covering their pride and uncharitableness and intolerance with the false pretended names of boldness of God."

Grimly Flynt conceded that "we have reason to fear that the bigger part of Christians dont Love Christ and their Souls more than the world and their bodys but to Judg particular persons in this way is directly contrary to the design of Christs parable Math. 13 24 [the sower and the seed] and to all his and his apostles rules of Charity peaceableness forebearance and tends naturally and even necessarily to Pride Contempt Insolence Judging condemning variance hatred contention and therefore cannot be consonant to Scripture or reason."[60] Appended to this refutation of the revivalists was the notation that William Hobby, New Light minister at Reading, had said that Solomon Prentice, Flynt's old friend and minister at Grafton, "told him he would make an attack on the College as it never had yet."[61]

Harvard was a prime target for the evangelists. Alan Heimert in his *Religion and the American Mind* notes that their chief complaint about the institution was that the administration was hostile to the flourishing of piety among the students and that the College had turned into something else than a seminary for prospective ministers.[62] Yet Brattle testified to Flynt's interest in the boys' spiritual problems in the 1720s; and, now, during the Awakening when he was well over sixty, several students talked freely with him about the state of their souls. Moreover, Harvard had not so changed as to fail to turn out numerous ministerial alumni. The only exception the revivalists could have taken to Flynt as a tutor was the kind of piety he dispensed which, if not in line with New Light dogma, was at least consistent with the principles he had held for decades. Moreover, during the Awakening, the spiritual reading lists recommended by Flynt and the prorevivalist Thomas Prince were remarkably similar.

By the spring of 1742, Flynt's opposition to the revival had become well known, and likeminded clerics and layfolk hastened to bring him up to date on Croswell's latest outlandish utterance which was usually based upon a crude understanding of the New Light theology of conversion, a point Jonathan Edwards was later to clarify in his *Treatise concerning Religious Affections.* From Charles Chauncy, who like Flynt had chosen to concentrate on the excesses of the revival and who was already stockpiling for his *Seasonable Thoughts*, came word that Croswell had announced from the Charlestown pulpit, "If you dont do good works you'l be damned and If you doe good works you'l be damned and the more good works you doe the greater wil be your damnation," a statement susceptible of an orthodox interpretation which moralists like Chauncy and Flynt were not inclined to make. John Hancock, minister at Braintree and father of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, informed Flynt that he had heard Croswell say "That the true intent and Scope and doctrine was beleive and be saved and doe and be damned," a position which represented an understandable Protestant reaction to the moralistic preaching of Flynt and his peers with their constant "Driving, Driving, to Duty, Duty," as Gilbert Tennent expressed it.[63] John Fowle, Old Light minister at Cohasset, told Flynt that he had heard Croswell pray in a private house "that a wide door might be Opened to himself and Gods Servant Buel to goe into Boston". Another informant told Flynt that Croswell had "prayed for his Uncle and aunt as two unconverted Sinners just going out of the world upon which his Uncle told him he did not beleive he had not one Spark of grace in him for he had no Charity," a retort in agreement with Flynt's attitude toward to the censoriousness of the New Lights.[64]

The Summer of 1742 saw the publication of Chauncy's *Enthusiasm Described*, a sermon preached at the First Church and prefaced by a letter to James Davenport. Chauncy scored this obstreperous itinerant for giving way to delusions. Like Flynt, the stolid Boston pastor recommended that his listeners "Keep close to the Scripture, and admit of nothing for an impressing of the spirit but what agrees with this unerring rule."[65] Shortly before this sermon was delivered, Flynt had loaned to Chauncy Meric Casaubon's *A Treatise concerning Enthusiasm, as it is an Effect of Nature but is Mistaken by Many for Either Divine Inspiration or Diabolical Possession,* first published in 1655. Casaubon had become interested in the subject on reading of a French nun's "raptures and enthusiasm," which seemed explicable on natural grounds although eminent French churchmen had certified them as supernatural. He borrowed heavily from the ancients and concluded that "ignorance of natural causes accounted for all extra-scriptural instances of purported visions, prophecies, and revelations."[66] Though Chauncy did not cite Casaubon by name, it is probable that he drew on his treatise in composing *Enthusiasm Described*, since like Casaubon he appealed to church history to prove the disastrous effects of enthusiasm in every age and explained it as a disease to which the melancholic were particularly susceptible. Following this approach, the Harvard faculty in its published testimony against Whitefield pointedly described an enthusiast as one "that acts, either according to Dreams, or some sudden Impulses and Impressions upon his Mind, which he fondly imagines to be from the Spirit of God, perswading and inclining him thereby to such and such Actions, tho' he hath no Proof that such Perswasions or Impressions are from the holy Spirit."[67]

Flynt had also lent Casaubon's work to President Holyoke who had been branded an Arminian by Croswell for a statement in his sermon to the ministers' annual convention at Boston, May 28, 1741, later published as *The Duty of Ministers to Guard against Pharisaism and Sadducism of the Present Day.* "As we are thus to beware of Arminianism on the one hand," the middle-of-the-road president told his confreres, "so we are on the other Hand to beward of Antinomianism, which those seem to favour, that with all their Orthodoxy with respect to the Doctrine of Grace, and exactness in the Externals of Worship, take little care of their moral Behaviour in Life."[68] This straddling, with a marked leaning away from Calvinism, was also Flynt's position. Because Arminianism had become a party cry of the revivalists against their opponents, Holyoke and Flynt denied the name but not the reality. Meanwhile, the Old Lights had developed their own cries of antinomianism and enthusiasm to hurl at their revivalist enemies. When Appleton began to recoil from the excesses of the revivalists, Flynt lent him *A Cry from the Desert* (1707), and account of the eccentric behavior of some overheated Huguenot victims of Louis XIV's persecution. Flynt was trying to damn the Awakening by identifying it with an earlier and discredited outburst of enthusiasm, a tactic also employed by an anonymous Old Light who published in Boston *A Faithful Account of the French Prophets* (1707) and by Chauncy himself who prefaced his *Seasonable Thoughts* with a short history of that well known antinomian, Anne Hutchinson, in which the emphasis upon the parallels between her case and the revival was unmistakable.[69]

In March, 1743, while still alive, Flynt attained the kind of apotheosis any right-thinking Harvard professor should envy. His *Twenty Discourses* (1739) was burned by a fundamentalist mob in New London at the instigation of James Davenport, who knew an Arminian when he saw one. Other titles on the Connecticut pyre which were also among those lent by Flynt to acquaintances, were Beveridge's *Private Thoughts on Religion*, Allestree's *Whole Duty of Man*, and John Adams sermons. Naturally, Chauncy's *Enthusiasm* went up in flames; but, more surprisingly, so did unspecified works by Colman and Sewall, both of whom were friends of the revival, President Willard's *Complete Body of Divinity* (an encyclopedia of Puritan theology compiled by Sewall and Prince), and *The Sincere Convert* by Thomas Shepard. As the fire blazed, the mob reportedly chanted, "The Smoak of the Torments of such of the Authors of the abovesaid Books, as died in the same Belief, as when they set them out, is now ascending in Hell."[70]

Two months after the New London conflagration, Flynt subscribed to ten copies of Appleton's sermon to the ministers' annual convention which was later published as *Faithful Ministers, the Salt of the Earth and the Light of the World* (1743).[71] While Appleton still insisted that there had been "a glorious work of God in the Land of Late" and denounced those who explained "all Things that have occurred of late of a religious Nature in a meer mechanical Way, for by this Means some will be tempted to go on, and pretend to account for all that has happen'd even in Christ's and in the Apostles' Days after the same Manner," he was more concerned than previously to point out the excesses of the Awakening. He listed these excesses as a fascination with "the bare sound of Words" (an echo of Flynt's "a form of words and notions and Shows"), fanciful interpretations of scripture; teachings which gave "Indulgence to men's Lusts . . . though it should be with never such Pretences of advancing the Merits and Righteousness of Christ or the Richness and Freeness of Divine Grace," working "too hard upon People's Passions," snap judgments about individual conversions, itinerancy, "false Notions about Faith, as if Assurance was of the Essence of saving, justifying Faith," defining faith "in such a Manner as to separate it from good Works," and the denial "that Sanctification is any Evidence of Justification." Since Harvard had become the *bête noire* of the more viciferous revivalists, Flynt must have been glad to hear Appleton, an overseer of the College and a member of the Harvard corporation, declare that the ministers of the province should be thankful "for the Care that God took for his Churches in this Land . . . in erecting by his Providence, a College, which has afforded such a rich Supply to these Churches, from the Beginning to this day, of able, and faithful Ministers, who have been the Light of this our new World and the Salt of our Earth."[72]

The ministers of the province later issued, though probably by a minority vote, a testimonial "against several Errors in Doctrine, and Disorders in Practice, which have of late obtained in various parts of the Land," in which no mention was made of any good done by the revival and which therefore constituted a denial, as Edwin Gaustad has observed, that there had been any Awakening at all.[73] Two weeks later and more aware than ever that "the good work is the bone of contention," Flynt composed a final and pessimistic reflection on the subject:

> Oh this country teems full of these things at this time. God is angry. The divel rages. Mens Lusts are manefest. Iniquity abounds and the Love of many waxes cold. . . . We devour one another and undo religion faith repentance Sincerity humility Charity Justice heavenlymindedness [illeg.] I fear in this land [there is] but Infidelity Impenitence pride hypocrisy uncharitableness contention censures rash judging impudence self righteousness falseness Errors contempt of things sacred undutyfulness. Many scandals prevail in the Land.

Gone was any grudging recognition of a divine work at the heart of the revival. On the contrary, Flynt feared "that God is pouring out his wrath upon this people and preparing Scourges for them." Rejecting the testimonial of the moderate revivalists and going beyond Appleton in censuring the Awakening, he asserted that "what numbers have been really and Lastingly made better I cannot tell and no man can tell mee but tis visible enough that many run of[f] into vile and wicked practices and their teachers encourage them." The causes of these disorders were "Our Lusts," which for him meant inordinate desires in general. Any other explanation was a delusion:

> It is time to make a distinction between things really Evil and really good and not call good Evil and evil good put darkness for Light confound things that ought to be distinguished so that men can't see their way nor understand what is right. Mens Lusts seem to Change their course and Channel but they are Lusts Stil. If covetousness and worldly pride turns [*sic*] into Spiritual pride censoriousness contention tis Stil wickedness. If men cover their Lusts with a show of religion they become twofold more the children of the divel. How much conversion is there to wickedness which is by some termed conversion to God? How many pretend to the Spirit but their fruites are certainly bad?[74]

Yet, at heart an old believer who would like to think that a saving God had recently passed through New England and possibly still under the influence of Appleton's caveat against a total rejection of the revival, Flynt hedged momentarily and resolved "to cleave to that which is really good" in the Awakening. For, he conceded, "tis probable and credible that many have in these times been awakened." "Many" was shortly demoted to "some," and even of their conversion he could not be sure. "But tis certain," he added:

> that many have been to appearance in Suddain distress and Suddain Joys which is but pretended Conversion as to many ot them for they have run into Spiritual pride self righteousness Judging condemning of Others despising Ministers parents Superiours and the Scriptures pretending to the impulse and conduct of Gods Spirit which carrys them above Scripture or reason into great disorders of body and mind as Screaming fits falling down Pride self conceit self righteousness rash judging condemning sacred things Ministers Scriptures Preaching except of those of their own way of thinking Ordinances Singing Scripture Psalms preferring other composures antinomian Errors and other false doctrines openly uttering them.[75]

The latitudinarian settlement had exploded. The confederacy, as Nathaniel Whitaker was to put it years later in his funeral oration on Whitefield, between Calvanists and Pelagians "to which heaven will not say 'amen'" was disintegrating, and Flynt showed his displeasure by shrill enumeration.[76]

Flynt's understanding of conversion, which sharply distinguished him from the revivalists, was reminiscent of Appleton's convention sermon doctrine that a good minister would not induce his charges "to think that a slight turn of Conviction, and a sudden Flash of Joy upon it is Conversion, tho' it causes them to cry out and fall down and be in Fits."[77] It also reechoed Alleine's sober teaching in the eleventh chapter of his *Alarm to the Unconverted* on "What Conversion is not, and concerning some Mistakes about it."[78] Paralleling Appleton's observation that grace acts differently on different tempers was Flynt's assertion that "wise and good men have taught that there is a great variety in the method of Gods bringing Sinners from under the power of Sin and Lust to fear Love and Serve God and Christ in truth." His final estimate of what he still called, probably with unconscious irony, "the good work" was that "in Sum and gross [it] must and wil be judged of by its fruites Let men say what they wil." Thus judged, Flynt felt, "it certainly has turned out very vicious so as to destroy truth and religion in doctrine practice and Order and discipline." He nursed no hope that this increasingly destructive trend would be reversed and concluded by restating Gamaliel's advice, "There needs nothing but to Let this work alone and twil destroy itself."[79]

Next month, August, 1743, Flynt subscribed 23*s* for Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts*, an action which Shipton regarded as the unmistakable mark of the true Old Light.[80] That Chauncy later lapsed into Unitarianism and Universalism would not have surprised Appleton who had predicted this fate for those who disparaged "the great work." If Flynt had not been so indolent, a point remarked on by Chauncy himself,[81] he might have written his own refutation of the revival since many passages of Chauncy's work are reminiscent of Flynt's reflections. Chauncy's God, like Flynt's, was a very rational being who dealt only with rational agents. Chauncy described a sense of sin as "that Operation of the Holy Spirit whereby in a Way Agreeable to the Nature of Man, he opens to the Sinner a View of himself, in his Sinfulness and Guilt." "When Men are effectually wrought upon by divine Grace," Chauncy continued, "the Roughness of their Temper shall be smoothed." This rationalistic approach recalls a notation in Flynt's diary made years before, "The first thing in religion is to refine a man's Temper." Chauncy like Flynt hinted at Whitefield's pocketing the funds of his Georgia asylum, refuted his slur against Tillotson, pointed to the threat the revival posed to the standing order in church and state, and bewailed the time wasted by people running to sermons and lectures.[82]

Whitefield returned to New England for a second time in August, 1744, but growing opposition and ill health made this trip much less a triumph than the first. On December 4, the Harvard faculty issued their testimony against him, a fifteen-page pamphlet which was later endorsed by the Yale faculty. It was probably composed chiefly by that bitter antagonist of the revival, Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Divinity, whose latitudinarianism Shipton credits with abetting the growth of Unitarianism at Harvard and who later penned a rejoinder to Whitefield's answer to Harvard's testimony.[83] Wigglesworth expressed many points Flynt had been making for years.

Whitefield's method of preaching was faulted by the faculty for being extempore and marked by itinerancy. Because his sermons were unprepared, they were particularly liable to exaggeration and error. Itinerant or wandering ministers had no foundation in scripture, entertained rather than instructed people, and "thrust themselves into Towns and Parishes, to the Destruction of all Peace and Order." Whitefield was declared to be "an Enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable Person, and a Deluder of the People." His enthusiasm consisted in following sudden impulses as if they were impressions of the Holy Spirit. His censoriousness and lack of charity appeared in his repeated assertion that those who disagreed with him or his methods were "Men of no Religion, unconverted, and Opposers of the Spirit of God." He was a deluder of the people because he collected money for which he gave no accounting, allegedly for orphans whom he had not seen in years and whom he left in the care "of a Person . . . we ourselves have reason to think is little better than a Quaker." His misguided zeal tended "very much to the Detriment of Religion, and the entire Destruction of the Order of these Churches of Christ, which our Fathers have taken such Care and Pains to settle, as by the Platform, according to which the Discipline of the Churches of New England is regulated." Like Flynt and Chauncy, the faculty scored Whitefield and his itinerant ministers who "thrust themselves into Towns and Parishes, to the Destruction of all Peace and Order, whereby they have to the great impoverishment of the Community, taken the People from their Work and Business, to attend their Lectures and Exhortations, always fraught with Enthusiasm, and other pernicious Errors."[84]

The faculty could not, of course, ignore Whitefield's criticism of Harvard:

> The next Instance we shall note, is the reproachful Reflections upon the Society which is immediately under our Care, where are observable his Rashness and his Arrogance. His Rashness, in publishing such a disadvantageous Character of Us, viz. Because some Body had so inform'd him. Surely he ought, if he had followed our Saviour's Rule, to have had a greater Certainty of the Truth of what he published of us to the whole World. But his Arrogance is more flagrant still, that such a young Man as he should take upon him to tell what Books we should allow our Pupils to read. But then he goes further still, when he says both of Yale College as well as ours, "As for the Universities, I believe it may be said, Their Light is now become Darkness, Darkness that may be felt." What a deplorable State of Immorality and Irreligion he has hereby represented Us to be in! And as this is a most wicked and libellous Falsehood (at least as to our College) as such we charge it upon him.

> But why doth he say thus? Why, "because this is complained of by the most godly Ministers." Here we are at a Loss to think whom he means by "the most godly Ministers." Certainly not the Rev. Gentlemen of the Town of Boston (with whom nevertheless he was most acquainted) for they are in the Government of the College, have assisted in making the Laws by which it is govern'd, and constantly visit us by a Committee, and themselves four Times in a Year, and make Examination how the Laws are executed.[35]

Contrasting the attitudes of revivalists and their opponents, a recent student of the colonial New England mind who believes that the revival destroyed the uneasy balance between theocentrism and humanism which had prevailed in New England since Anne Hutchinson's trial has noted that "the Arminians warned of the danger of an uneducated ministry, the evangelists warned of the danger of an unconverted ministry." The horn of the dilemma seized by the Harvard faculty in this controversy was predetermined. like Heimert, this author detects snobbery in the New Light stance, asserting that "inherent in the liberal mentality was an elitism based on intelligence, breeding, and education, and it generated a disdain for those who did not, or could not, obtain a Harvard degree."[36]

Flynt's reaction to the revival was predictable. Initially, it had appealed to his pious nature. He could hardly have ignored a religious awakening, since he had been trying to work himself into an awakened state for years. Moreover, his pastor and most other ministers in the province at first welcomed "heart preaching" and saw in the revival a check on rampant agnosticism and indifferentism. That in the long run the Awakening tended to discredit revealed religion was, for Flynt and the Harvard faculty, one of its most detestable consequences. That this tendency affected only the more cultured and educated demonstrates further the elitist bent of their thinking. Living in an age in which democratic cant was not yet fashionable, they would have been proud to be considered elitists.

But the Great Awakening involved more than style. It had a theology which by Flynt's admission was like the old Puritan theology of the founders of Massachusetts. The "free and catholick" latitudinarianism and semi-rationalism to which Flynt and the rest of the Harvard faculty adhered had abandoned that "good old divinity" as a "narrow scheme" and they did not rejoice to see it revived. The course of the revival confirmed Flynt's initial suspicions. For him and his colleagues the established order in church and state as an orderly, hierarchic, bible-based arrangement managed by experts in scripture and reason was the only society worth having. As for the Federalists of a later day, with whom they had much in common, there was for the Harvard faculty but one definition of the common good. They were eminently satisfied with the province's magistrates and faithful ministers and attributed discontent with either to self-serving factionalism. This establishment they saw imperilled by the New Light emphasis on itinerancy and sudden conversion which could only lead to fits, screams, and antinomianism.

The initial success of the revival, however, showed that many New Englanders wanted less head and more heart in their religion and were unhappy with the complacent rationalism of many Harvard-trained divines. Like Flynt in other ways, Appleton saw this, but Flynt could not. He lacked imagination and had gone so far in making Christianity reasonable that he could not see the need to make it vital too. He agreed wholeheartedly with Chauncy's definition of the proper attitude toward religion:

> We should take our sentiments from the book of God and this in the calm and sober exercise of our understandings. And if we view it as tis here delineated, we can't but approve of it, the doctrine it teaches, and the duties it requires, whether they relate to God, ourselves, or our neighbor; they are so reasonable in themselves, and worthy of the God, the stamp of whose authority they bear.[87]

This synthesis of the discordant elements of rationalism and Christianity was not particularly communicable. Describing the mental climate in New England in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, one author writes: "Trying to preserve both the old emphasis on man's inability and the new humanism of the age was becoming a contradiction too heavy to bear intellectually and psychologically."[88] The stage was being set for the humanist Harvard of the first half of the nineteenth century. Writing almost half a century ago about Wigglesworth, although the same judgment could have been made of most of Harvard's eighteenth century faculty including Flynt, Samuel Eliot Morison stated that he "trained the pioneers of liberal Christianity in New England, the ministers who led the way out of the lush but fearsome jungles of Calvinism, into the thin, clear light of Unitarianism."[89] Since Morison wrote, Calvinism has undergone a rehabilitation, but his estimate of the impact of eighteenth-century Harvard still holds.

NOTES

1. Edwin S. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), p. 25.

2. William Wale, ed., *Whitefield's Journals: to Which Is Prefixed His "Short Account" and "Further Account"* (London: Henry Drane, 1905), pp. 463, 473.

3. Gaustad, *Great Awakening*, p. 32.

4. Ibid., p. 34.

5. Clifford K. Shipton, ed., *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1933), 4:162-67.

6. Benjamin Pierce, *History of Harvard University* (Cambridge: Brown, Shattuck & Company, 1883), p. 263; David Sewall, "Father Flynt's Journey to Portsmouth and Back to Cambridge, Aet. 80," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* 1st ser. 16 (January 1878): 7.

7. Gaustad, *Great Awakening*, pp. 28, 33.

8. Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Boston: Tappan & Dennet, 1845), pp. 159-60.

9. Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 157-62.

10. Arminianism, after Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1607), was a reaction to Calvin's absolute divine decrees of predestination and reprobation. Arminians asserted election dependent on the foreknowledge of a God of faith or the lack of it in men; affirmed universal although not actually efficient atonement by Christ; held that despite depravity consequent on original sin men retain free will; affirmed that grace is resistible; and denied that the regenerate can be sure of perservering in grace. The Arminianism of Flynt's Harvard is demonstrated by Norman Fiering, "The First American Enlightenment: Tillotson, Leverett, and Philosophical Anglicanism," *New England Quarterly*, 54 (September 1981): 307-43. The founders of Massachusetts were Calvinists, while the post-Restoration Anglican Church was Arminian.

11. Henry Flynt, Diary, 1:2. Two volumes of Flynt's diary are extant. Volume 1 (1713-1724) is at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume 2 (1724-1747) is at the Houghton Library, Harvard. I have produced a critical edition of Flynt's diary, copies of which are at Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard University Archives, and Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y. Page numbers cited below are from this critical edition, since most of the pages in the original diary are not numbered.

12. Tracy, *Great Awakening*, p. 49.

13. Flynt, Diary, 2:1452-53.

14. Gaustad, *Great Awakening*, p. 37.

15. *The Testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors, and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College in Cambridge, against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, and his Conduct* (Boston: T. Fleet, 1744), p. 12.

16. Flynt, Diary, 2:1463.

17. Ibid., 1453-54.

18. Shipton, ed., *Harvard Graduates*, 4:165.

19. Flynt, Diary, 2:1453-55.

20. Wale, *Journals*, p. 463.

21. Flynt, Diary, 2:1454-55.

22. Ibid., 2:1457-58.

23. "Extract of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Colman of Boston, to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, 15 March 1741," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 53 (June 1920): 198.

24. Flynt, Diary, 2:1484-85.

25. Gaustad, *Great Awakening*, p. 43.

26. Flynt, Diary, 2:1223.

27. Joseph Alleine, *An Alarm to Unconverted Sinners in a Serious Discourse* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1741), p. 19.

28. John Smith, ed., *Jonathan Edwards: Religious Affections* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 5.

29. Alleine, *Alarm*, p. 20.

30. Flynt, Diary, 2:1458.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., 2:1459.

33. Ibid.

34. "Extract of a letter to the Reverend Mr. Whitefield from Josiah Willard, Esq. Secretary of the Province of New England [*sic*]," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 53 (June 1920): 197.

35. "Extract of a letter from Dr. Colman," Ibid., p. 198.

36. William Brattle, "Remarks on Mr. Whitefield's New England Journal," *Boston Gazette*, 13 April to 20 April 1741.

37. Overseers' Records, Harvard University Archives, 1:189.

38. Brattle, *Gazette*, 13 April to 20 April 1741.

39. Leonard Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London, 1708-1743* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1956) p. 240.

40. Ibid. and Shipton, ed., *Harvard Graduates*, 11:450.

41. Brattle, *Gazette*, 13 April to 20 April 1741.

42. Flynt, Diary, 2:1464-67.

43. Ibid., 2:1467.

44. *Testimony of the President*, etc.

45. *Boston Gazette*, 16 March 1742.

46. Flynt, Diary, 2:1111.

47. Nathaniel Appleton, *Sermons on the Preached Gospel: God and Not Ministers to Have the Glory of Success Given to the Preached Gospel. Illustrated in Two Discourses . . . Occasioned by the Late Powerful Awakening and Preaching of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield* (Boston: S. Eliot, 1741), p. 21.

48. Ibid., pp. 11, 16.

49. Ibid., pp. 14, 43.

50. Shipton, ed., *Harvard Graduates*, 5:602.

51. Flynt, Diary, 2:1475.

52. Nathaniel Appleton, *Faithful Ministers. Preached before the Ministers of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England at their Annual Convention, May 26, 1743* (Boston: S. Eliot, 1743), p. 32.

53. Flynt, Diary, 2:1475.

54. Ibid., 2:1476-77.

55. Ibid., 2:1477.

56. Ibid., 2:1477-78.

57. Ibid., 2:1484-85.

58. Ibid., 2:1481.

59. Ibid., 2:1478-79.

60. Ibid., 2:1479-80.

61. Ibid., 2:1481.

62. Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 184.

63. Gilbert Tennent, *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*, 2d. ed., (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1740), p. 9.

64. Flynt, Diary, 2:1482-83.

65. Charles Chauncy, *Enthusiasm Described: Preach'd at the Old Brick Church the Lord's Day after Commencement, 1742. With a Letter to the Rev. Mr. James Davenport* (Boston: S. Eliot, 1742), p. 17.

66. Flynt, Diary, 2:1224; and Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise Concerning Enthusiasme* (London: Thomas Johnson, 1655), p. 3.

67. *Testimony of the President*, p. 4.

68. Flynt, Diary, 2:1224; Edward Holyoke, *The Duty of Ministers to Guard against Pharisaism and Sadducism of the Present Day. A Sermon Preach'd to the Convention of Ministers at Boston, May 28, 1741* (Boston: J. Eliot, 1741), p. 16.

69. Flynt, Diary, 2:1224; and Charles Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (Boston: S. Eliot, 1743), preface.

70. *Boston Evening Post*, 4 to 11 March 1743; Francis Mainwaring Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut, from the first Survey of the Coast in 1612*, 2d ed. (New London: Case & Lockwood, 1860), pp. 449-59.

71. Flynt, Diary, 2:1224.

72. Appleton, *Faithful Ministers*, pp. 31, 33, 49.

73. Gaustad, *Great Awakening*, p. 63.

74. Flynt, Diary, 2:1494-95.

75. Ibid., 2:1495-96.

76. Tracy, *Great Awakening*, pp. 295-99.

77. Appleton, *Faithful Ministers*, p. 18.

78. Alleine, *Alarm*, chap. 2.

79. Flynt, Diary, 2:1496-97.

80. Ibid., 2:1151. Shipton regularly used subscription to *Seasonable Thoughts* as evidence that the subscriber was a New Light. See *Harvard Graduates*, 6:46, 252, 267, 281, 555, 571, 590.

81. Charles Chauncy, "Sketch of Eminent Men in New-England," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st ser., 1867-69, 10:165.

82. Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts*, p. 5; Flynt, Diary, 1:239-40.

83. Shipton, ed., *Harvard Graduates*, 5:553.

84. *Testimony of the President*, pp. 4, 11, 12, 13.

85. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

86. James W. Jones, *The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism before the Great Awakening* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 117, 134.

87. Chauncy, *Enthusiasm*, p. 19.

88. Jones, *Shattered Synthesis*, p. 102.

89. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 68.

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Between the Old-Time College and the Modern University: Noah Porter and the New Haven Scholars

Louise L. Stevenson

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF Richard Hofstadter's and Walter P. Metzger's *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* in 1955, historians have divided nineteenth-century higher educational history into two periods. In the first the old-time college predominated. The Scottish philosophy of Dugald Stewart and Thomas Reid gave the old-time college its rationale and coherence. Courses in mathematics, Greek and Latin languages, and natural science formed the core of the required curriculum designed to provide, in the words of the famous Yale Report of 1828, "*discipline*" and "*furniture*" for "the mind; expanding its powers, and storing it with knowledge." The college drew its faculty from men trained for the ministry, and faculty members had responsibility for teaching and governing students both inside and outside the classroom. In 1876 the founding of Johns Hopkins University signaled the beginning of the new age. The modern university was the home of the professional academic whose advanced degree certified competence to teach and to pursue research in a well-defined discipline.[1]

Historians emphasize the discontinuities between the old-time college and modern university and agree that the college contributed little to the formation of the university. Rather, American university founders, such as Daniel Coit Gilman and G. Stanley Hall, imported German models that they adapted to their needs and a particular American situation. Following the logic of this argument, historians see nineteenth-century college presidents and professors supporting either the old-time college or the modern university.[2] This distinction makes clear the great distance between the Williams College of Mark Hopkins and the Clark University of G. Stanley Hall, but it can distort the positions of some educators who as young men wanted to reform the old-time college and as older men opposed certain changes associated with the modern university. The most prominent and well known nineteenth-century educational leader who falls into this category is Noah Porter, president of Yale College from 1871 to 1886.

In his efforts to reform the old-time college, Porter was joined by Yale colleagues who shared his liberal Congregationalist faith and commitment to scholarship. These dual commitments make this mid-nineteenth-century group unique, not only among earlier and later generations of Yale professors but also among other mid-century groups of professors at Harvard, Princeton, and various southern colleges. These other groups did not make common cause with Porter and his colleagues because of the strength of regional and religious loyalties. For instance, although professors at southern colleges shared evangelical commitment, their defense of slavery was anathema to the New Haven group. And, although Harvard and Yale professors held Whig political beliefs, the two groups disagreed over the relationship of religion to moral improvement.[3]

Porter and his colleagues will be referred to as the "New Haven scholars" because of their self-image as scholars and their place in religious history as the successors to Nathaniel William Taylor and his New Haven theology. The New Haven scholars were mineralogist and geologist James Dwight Dana (1813-1895), American and church historian George Park Fisher (1820-1909), professor of Greek James Hadley (1821-1872), art historian James Mason Hoppin (1820-1906), Arabic scholar Edward Elbridge Salisbury (1814-1901), philologist and Sanskrit scholar William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894), political scientist Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1801-1889), and moral philosopher and psychologist Noah Porter (1811-1892).

These men enjoyed national and even international reputations. Dana corresponded with Charles Darwin and edited the *American Journal of Arts and Sciences*. Substantially revised, his *Manual of Mineralogy*, first published in 1849, reached its nineteenth edition in 1977. Fisher helped found the American Society of Church History and was president of the American Historical Association in 1898. His Lowell Lectures of 1871 were republished as *The Reformation* (1873) and reprinted for the last time in 1920. Salisbury founded the American Oriental Society and edited its journal. Woolsey served on various committees of the American Social Science Association. The third edition of his *Introduction to the Study of International Law*, first edition 1860, was reprinted for the last time in 1908. Whitney, the preeminent scholar, was elected in 1881 to the Prussian Order of Merit in Science to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas Carlyle. With Hadley, Whitney founded the American Philological Society (1869), and his *Sanskrit Grammar* was last republished in 1955.[4]

Whatever their academic specialties, the New Haven scholars taught the same lessons about the relation between God and his world. Readers of Dana's *Mineralogy* found a text that accurately described and classified minerals and an introduction that asked them to share Dana's awe at God's creations. Fisher's history of the Reformation built to a conclusion that affirmed the promise of Christianity to uplift people and to ennoble all of their works.[5] Modern scholars tend to see these affirmations of God and the Christian Millennium as unscholarly accretions; the New Haven scholars thought that they were an integral part of true scholarship. The New Haven scholars modified the Common Sense Realism of the Scottish philosophy, adopted a historical mode of explanation, and presented their conclusions in forms that resemble modern scholarship. When combined with expressed evangelical hopes, these innovations made New Haven scholarship a particular nineteenth-century hybrid distinct from the earlier work of the professors of the Yale Report and the later purely secular scholarship of, say, psychologist William James.[6]

Of the New Haven scholars only Noah Porter has captured the attention of educational historians. He, in fact, enjoys a certain notoriety. Brooks Mather Kelley and George Wilson Pierson, historians of Yale, see Porter merely as an opponent of post-Civil War educational reforms such as the elective system and abolition of Greek and Latin as required courses. They hold him responsible for slowing Yale's progress toward its future as a modern university. Similarly, Richard Hofstadter, in his *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, portrays Porter as the enemy of academic freedom who prevented Yale professor William Graham Sumner from using the text of his choice, Herbert Spencer's *Sociology*. Laurence Veysey also casts Porter as the antagonist in *The Emergence of the American University* and invokes Porter's name whenever he illustrates that the educator under discussion held a religious viewpoint, supported socially or politically conservative ideas, or refused to compromise. Thus a professor at Johns Hopkins University could be "as dogmatic in his view and as impatient with rival opinions (errors) as a Porter," and the "laissez-faire views on tax support for higher education" of Charles William Eliot "made it seem easy to label him a conservative at heart, belonging with Noah Porter."[7]

In the last five years historians have started a new reassessment of mid-nineteenth century intellectual life and educational history. Burton Bledstein and James McLachlan now argue that college presidents with different educational philosophies, such as Charles William Eliot and Noah Porter, saw the college as an institution of social reform.[8] Also historians now appreciate that the Scottish philosophy inspired intellectual progress.

In *A History of Philosophy in America* Murray Murphey and Elizabeth Flower argue that the Scottish philosophy formed a valuable part of the philosophic tradition that William James built upon. J. David Hoeveler carries this reassessment into the history of higher education. He describes how evangelical faith and Scottish Common Sense Realism shaped the educational reforms that James McCosh instituted at Princeton.[9]

This paper will continue this reassessment with reference to the educational ideas of Noah Porter and the New Haven scholars. We will meet the mature New Haven scholars of the 1860s and 1870s and discover how they perceived scholarship as a means for securing the intellectual conviction of godly men to an evangelical future. For these evangelical scholars, the college had replaced the church, books and articles replaced itinerant preachers, and intellectual conviction gained from study replaced the emotional experience of the revival. No new evidence modifies Porter's administrative record as Yale president. However first as a faculty member (1847-1871) and then as president, Porter tried to reform the Yale of the 1828 Yale Report.[10] Porter and the rest of the New Haven scholars attempted to introduce a change that present-day historians erroneously associate with the modern university. The New Haven scholars were among the first Americans to conceive of scholarship as both a method of exposition and a vocation dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge. This definition of scholarship shows the New Haven group's position as mediating figures who adapted scholarly means, usually associated with the modern university, to secure the religious ends associated with the old-time college.

In the 1860s Porter's *The Human Intellect* (1868), Woolsey's *Introduction to the Study of International Law* (1860), Whitney's *Language and the Study of Language* (1867), and Fisher's *Essays on the Supernatural Origins of Christianity* (1865) introduced American readers to new fields of study, new methods of analysis, and a new style of argument. Because the New Haven scholars were among the few Americans who had pursued advanced study at German universities, they took care to explain their method and style to readers. The scholar, Porter explained, presented his findings and conclusions "in the forms of exact observation, precise definition, fixed terminology, classified arrangement, and rational explanation."[11] This definition had four corollaries that the New Haven scholars defined in theory and practice.

First, scholars belonged to recognizable disciplines defined by their subject-matters, and they followed certain guiding principles or methods. Whitney's subtitle, *Twelve Lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science*, indicated that his book, *Language and the Study of Language*, was an extended definition of a discipline, in this case the new field of philology. Porter's *Human Intellect* described psychology as the "science of the human soul." Fisher started his texts and history courses with the explanation that history was "the biography of society."[12]

Second, the scholar belonged to a community of scholars and built upon its work. Salisbury called for the specialist who alone "can do the critical investigation of languages," and he promised to attract others to the cause of research. Dana explained that the scientist should advance "by his researches the sciences to which he is devoted." The scholar was expected to cite in footnotes and bibliographies the works of other members of the community and to follow its rules of discourse. Fisher helped to enforce these rules in his role as a historical consultant to the publishing firm of Charles Scribner's Sons. He insisted that a competent historian should know the German works in his field and express no sectarian bias in his work. Still, a historian might express his evangelical hopes in his conclusion.[13]

Third, scholarly argument followed certain rules of style. Fisher recommended that historians write in a warm candid manner, differentiating among facts, hypotheses, and inferences in other historians' arguments. Whereas the non-scholar, Whitney found, "surrounded and dimmed" his argument with "a halo of fancy," the scholarly argument had "sharply put outlines and distinct lineaments." It was "analytic rather than synthetic, the inquiring rather than the dogmatic." The scholar always strove "above all things, after clearness." He proceeded "always from that which is recondite and obscure, establishing the principles by induction from facts which lie within the cognizance of every well-educated person."[14]

Fourth, the scholar consulted the facts. It is easier for contemporary readers to recognize as modern Fisher's description of historical facts. To find them, he said, the historian must study manuscripts as well as the architecture, art, literature, statues, and official documents of an era. Psychologist Porter's facts, however, are more difficult for the contemporary scholar to appreciate as modern. That is, they did not result from laboratory research or the observation of behavior. Porter's facts were those that "the soul" could discover "concerning itself." Like his teacher Friedrich Adolf Trendelenburg (1802-1872) at the University of Berlin, Porter thought that the psychologist found facts through the etymologically correct understanding of the language of everyday life. Porter's psychology thus was modern to the extent that it was based on facts and departed from the practice of mental philosophers such as Francis Wayland who merely refined previous Common Sense theories.[15]

Further, the New Haven scholars assumed that their writing and teaching positively affected social change. Induction from facts revealed principles that the educated person, as Whitney said, could not fail to grasp. The New Haven scholars thus assumed that their scholarship would influence properly educated men. That educated men have right ideas was vital for the moral development of society, for social change proceeded from men whose right ideas influenced other men.[16] This theory emphasized the agencies of cultural transmission: the school, college, church, and printed word. It minimized, on the one hand, the influence of political and economic institutions that merely structured society and, on the other hand, the effects of religious revivals that awakened or intensified religious feelings. When explaining social change, Porter and the New Haven scholars simply ignored the role of women and the family. The scholars assumed that the welfare of society depended upon right ideas, religious in essence, and that educated men played a vital role in society as the initiators of ideas, both good and bad, that ordinary men accepted. It followed that irreligion, or wrong thinking, was more dangerous among educated rather than common men. The latter were more susceptible to religious truth for they would read the Bible and automatically "feel its truth." For educated men to accept religion and avoid skepticism, they had to understand the principles and methods upon which statements of truth were based. With this accomplished, right ideas would flow through society. "The principles and conclusions of the few who think," Porter suggested, "affect the opinions, the feelings of the many who act."[17] Assuming a deferential society in which ideas were forces of change, the New Haven scholars wanted to make sure that a male elite disseminated right ideas.

This theory of social change implied that scholarly texts had a social purpose and a specific audience. Through the printed word, the scholar could guide the thinking of educated men. For instance, Woolsey saw the readers of his *International Law* as "young men of liberal culture, in preparation for any profession or employment, who need the enlarging influences of a study like this; who in a republic like ours are in a degree responsible for the measures of government." The New Haven scholars applied this theory in the relatively unspecialized world of nineteenth-century publishing. Until the last third of the century, only natural scientists and Orientalists had journals in which to publish specialized studies. Thus, it was the norm for a book to be designed for both well-educated and scholarly readers. Porter said that his *Human Intellect* was a "text book for colleges and higher schools" *and* "for advanced students of psychology and speculative philosophy."[18] In a dual purpose text such as *The Human Intellect* footnotes or paragraphs in small type segregated information of exclusively scholarly interest. Single purpose texts were usually intended for well-educated readers and introduced them to scholarly developments or applied the specialized knowledge of the scholar to questions of current interest. For example, Whitney's two philology texts introduced his readers to that subject, a new frontier of knowledge in the mid-nineteenth century. Fisher wrote a series of articles for the *North American Review* in which he attempted to dispel the popular notion that Christianity was a "Puritanical" force and to create a fair-minded view on recent scholarship. Porter informed this educated elite about educational reform and contemporary philosophy in articles that appeared in the *American Biblical Repository, British Quarterly Review, Atlantic Monthly, International Review, Nation, North American Review,* and *Princeton Review.*[19]

The *New Englander*, a journal published in New Haven and edited by the New Haven scholars and their supporters from 1843 to 1892, shows how the scholars defined and addressed their reading public. In the early years of the journal, its editors were clergymen and Yale professors. After 1848, professors increasingly dominated the editorial board, and the close relationship of the *New Englander* to Yale became more explicit until in 1885 it became the *New Englander and Yale Review.*[20]

Despite these changes, the purpose of the journal remained the same throughout its forty-nine years of publication. *New Englander* editors tried to make theirs a popular journal, that is a journal which all educated men would read. Popular meant appealing to "intelligent Christian men" "in every profession and position" who were the leaders of their communities. An editor advised a potential contributor to see himself as either a "wise man" giving advice to "the selectmen of a town" or a commissioner advising "the people of a district."[21]

The content of a popular journal informed "Christian citizens" on all the subjects that concerned them. The editors said that they would not conduct doctrinal debates, which would have split evangelical unity, or print articles of interest only to ministers and theological students, which would have bored laymen. *New Englander* articles would have a religious but nonsectarian point of view. The journal also would not appeal to a single interest, such as antislavery, or to men in a single role, such as fathers. The six to eight articles in each issue reviewed current books in the fields of politics, economics, current literature, and scholarly developments.[22]

The New Englander gave the scholars an opportunity to address subjects outside their disciplines and to apply New Haven ideas to current events. Fisher, for example, applied historical criticism in his review of

Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred* and presented an historically-based theory of rights to argue that freedmen should not receive the vote. Porter used his understanding of the implications of social science based on Auguste Comte's positivism to reveal that a materialistic ethical system motivated the characters in certain popular novels.[23] The *New Englander* also gave a publishing outlet to scholars whose disciplines had no journals. It published Woolsey's articles on international law, Fisher's essays on Biblical history, and Hoppin's art criticism. Philologist Whitney, by comparison, published his discussions of the accent in Sanskrit in the recently founded *Transactions of the American Philological Association* while giving his article comparing Confucian and Christian ethics to the *New Englander.*[24]

In sum, the *New Englander* was a how-to manual for the educated Congregationalist who learned how he could be godly while participating fully in American life. The journal introduced ideas from the cosmopolitan world of German, English, and French universities and assured that advances in learning were not necessarily atheistic.[25] Readers also learned how they could participate in politics and appreciate art and architecture. A sort of postgraduate course, the *New Englander* continued the lessons that the New Haven scholars offered at Yale College. Thus, a comparison of the journal with its predecessor and successor can illustrate the significant differences between the Yale College of the New Haven scholars, the Yale of the 1828 Yale Report, and Yale as a modern university.

The predecessor to the *New Englander* was the *Christian Spectator* (1819-1838) which Nathaniel William Taylor and his supporters owned and edited. It was a platform from which they propounded their system of evangelical Congregationalism, the New Haven theology, which stressed human ability to attain individual salvation. The Taylorites also used the pages of the journal to respond to the charges of more theologically conservative Presbyterians and Congregationalists who accused the Taylorites of heresy. The Taylorites tried to explain why their doctrinal innovations should commend themselves to educated men, especially those who at the time were deserting their inherited Congregationalism for Unitarianism or Episcopalianism. Current events in the *Christian Spectator* were accounts of missionary activities, revivals, and the lives of eminently pious Christians that constituted news of interest to evangelicals. Wary of the immoral effects of contemporary literature, reviewers warned their readers from theater and novel reading and recommended instead the poetry and essays of English authors such as Dryden and Pope.[26]

As the middle generation, *New Englander* editors were more secular than their predecessors. Instead of warning readers about new cultural and literary developments, they put them under what sociologist Peter Berger calls a religious canopy of meaning.[27] The *New Englander* was filled with reviews of current books in science, politics, and scholarly affairs. These reviews connected readers with a network of American and European scholars affiliated with universities.

The successors of the New Haven scholars, the editors of the *Yale Review* (1892-1911), said that their journal promoted "the advancement of sound learning" and spoke for "no party" and "no school." Editors promised to "present the results of scientific and scholarly investigation and political science." The first issue contained articles on current economic and political issues such as the remonetization of silver, the Standard Oil Trust, German tarriff policy, price regulation, the relationship between ethics and political science, trade unions, and a historical study of a New England town.[28]

The three generations of editors shared cetain characteristics that make the differences among their journals even more striking. All three generations were Congregationalists and, with few exceptions, Yale graduates. This last fact means that editors of the *Christian Spectator* were among the teachers of *New Englander* editors just as *New Englander* editors taught *Yale Review* editors. The second and third generations, however, gave Congregationalism specifically and religion in general a successively less visible place in their journals. The *Christian Spectator* drew upon religion for its subject matter and test of truth. The *Yale Review* replaced religious truth with the conclusions from "scholarly and scientific" investigations. The scope of the journals changed from the comprehension of all the affairs of Christian men to merely those issues that interested men in their roles as public citizens. *Yale Review* editors thought that social-scientific articles could produce a consensus among educated men; *New Englander* editors assumed that New Haven scholarship could produce the same result; and Taylorites hoped to win all educated men to New Haven theology. *Yale Review* editors continued the New Haven scholars' purpose of influencing the educated few, but dismissed religious faith as irrelevant to this purpose and excluded the religious values that New Haven scholars thought were the essence of practicality. The way in which the three journals treated the issue of Puritanism illustrates this successive bracketing of religious belief and faith. For the Taylorites, Puritanism had been a matter for theological debate on issues of human will and ability. When Nathaniel William Taylor modified doctrine to allow for human ability, the theologically more conservative Bennet Tyler took exception and in 1833 founded the Hartford Theological Seminary to counter the influence of Taylor's Yale Theological

Department. Writers for the *New Englander* avoided factionalizing doctrinal issues and sought unity among Protestants through consideration of Puritanism as an historical problem. Church historian Fisher, for instance, denied the charge of Catholic historians that the Protestant Reformation had given rise to the excesses of the French Revolution and argued instead that the Reformation contained the seeds of democratic achievements. Writers for the *Yale Review* avoided religious polemics altogether. In the first volume, Williston Walker, a German-trained Ph.D. then a professor at the Hartford Theological Seminary and in 1901 Fisher's successor as American church historian at the Yale Divinity School, contributed articles that discussed why Massachusetts had no Saybrook Platform and Charles Francis Adams's history of Quincy, Massachusetts.[29] Scholarship had provided a new basis for unity among educated men.

These three generations of Yale professors and editors rejected certain of their teachers' lessons while retaining and developing others. The New Haven scholars abandoned their teachers' ministerial stance. They adopted the new conventions of scholarship and used German idealism to modify the Scottish philosophy in order to bring about the same evangelical future that their teachers had hoped for. The *Yale Review* editors laid aside these evangelical hopes while carrying forward their teachers' respect for scholarship and the findings of empirical research. Each generation assumed that it had an audience among an educated elite, but each generation adopted a progressively less religious and more secular strategy for reaching that elite. The New Haven scholar stood between Nathaniel William Taylor and his theology and the social scientist who wrote for the *Yale Review* during the Progressive era.

The Progressive idea that scholars could serve their society through application of research to social and political problems, an idea embodied in the career of political scientist Charles Merriam,[30] has one of its origins in the way that the New Haven scholars thought about their profession and its usefulness. The New Haven scholars took as their role models men who had strong evangelical belief, who contributed to the development of history as a discipline, and who engaged themselves in public life. The New Haven scholars thus passed over the example of the professors whom they had met while studying at German universities and preferred instead the example of historians Barthold Georg Niebuhr and Thomas Arnold.[31]

As a young man in the 1840s full of enthusiasm for the promise of current European revolutions, Porter imagined that the scholar could give expression to the inchoate hopes of the people, by marshalling

> a few words of power, that simply declare the thoughts that every man has been thinking, but which till now, no one has fitly spoken; arguments concerning the rights of the citizen or Christian, which no one has shown to be true; a people's glowing and fury which seem to gather and concentrate the fire that has been burning in ten thousand hearts, into one burning tongue of flame.[32]

By the 1880s, Porter's romantic vision of the scholar and his direct relationship to democratic progress had vanished and his lifelong wonderings about the scholar's isolation from public life predominated. Porter's younger colleague Fisher now reformulated how the scholar related to public events. Fisher's scholar corrected the lessons that ordinary people learned from participation in events. Fisher viewed the scholar's detachment as an asset that allowed him to bear in mind "the experiences of mankind, the analogies of history." These served "as aids to the silent drift which the busy actors are apt to ignore."[33]

Fisher, Porter, and the other New Haven scholars looked to their colleague Theodore Dwight Woolsey as an exemplary scholar. His career stood as "a signal example of the dignity, as well as the usefulness of a purely academic life."[34] Woolsey was a Yale professor and president (1846-1871) and his *Introduction to International Law* (1860) and *Political Science* (1877) were contributions to scholarship and attempts to educate the vital few. He also applied his ideas to current events in *Divorce and Divorce Legislation in the United States* (1869) and *Communism and Socialism in Their History and Theory* (1880). After the Civil War, Woolsey helped to arbitrate the United States' naval claims against Britain, and he was involved in liberal Republican politics in the 1870s.

Woolsey's political involvement and timely concerns seem to make his career resemble that of the Progressive disinterested expert. Yet Woolsey's definition of the useful scholar is far different from that of the politically involved Charles Merriam, who brought social science to the service of government through the Social Science Research Agency. Woolsey's overriding purposes were religious; he hoped to reveal how current political theories produced conditions that undermined evangelical hopes. Rousseau's social-contract theory and communism each gave rise to totalitarian states, Woolsey found, that deprived people of the freedom necessary for them to bring about the Millennium.[35]

The other New Haven scholars shared Woolsey's religious concerns and, as academic specialists, tried to refute the evangelically counterproductive theories in their disciplines. In psychology, Porter countered the theories of John Stuart Mill, Alexander Bain, and other scientists who argued that human behavior resulted from the response of the mind to external or physical stimuli. Porter thought that these theories denied free will and argued instead that people could act as they wished and make their world a better place. In church history and Biblical criticism, Fisher disputed the claims of the Tübingen school. Whereas David Frederic Strauss and Ferdinand Baur argued respectively that New Testament miracles were myths or that the first four gospels were not historically accurate, Fisher maintained that the New Testament was a historically true account of the miracles which were actual historical events. Although philologist Whitney rebuked scholars who used their disciplines to confirm or to deny religious and scientific theories, such as Darwin's explanation of the origin of species or Adam and Eve as the parents of the entire human race, he did use his knowledge of philology to argue in support of beliefs consistent with religiously-based New Haven values. For example, he said that philology proved that human beings had a social nature. This fact, he stated, refuted social-contract theory because it proved that the state of nature upon which the theory rested was merely a man-made myth.[36]

All the New Haven scholars were combating what Porter called the "New Infidelity" found in contemporary literature as well as political theory, history, natural science, and psychology.[37] This infidelity was new because it replaced the errors that Taylorite ministers of the 1820s and 1830s had found in doctrines of Unitarians, Episcopalians, and rival Congregationalist sects. Now the scholar had power to recognize the implications of atheistic theories that appeared in secular guises. In this new battle the college had replaced the church, professors had replaced ministers, and male college students and educated readers had replaced congregations. To prepare for the Millennium, the New Haven scholars refuted the wrong ideas that educated men might encounter, tried to educate men who would be receptive to right ideas, and hoped that these men as the educated few would disseminate right ideas down and through society. Belief in the power of ideas was at the heart of New Haven activism. Their scholar neither manned the barricades nor wrote for a mass popular audience. He influenced the world by placing New Haven ideas into circulation among the influential educated few. Scholarship, books, and the college promised that New Haven ideas would prevail.

The New Haven scholars' use of scholarly means for evangelical ends shows that the nineteenth-century transition from old-time college to modern university was incremental. For this mid-century generation religious hopes encouraged adoption of scholarly means. Nevertheless, adoption of these means did not also mean the breaking up of the religious value system of the old-time college.[38] For example, at Yale in 1847 when Woolsey split the senior-year moral philosophy course into his courses in political science and international law and Porter's course in mental philosophy, students still encountered the same coherent system of values and beliefs in all these classes. The students of the New Haven scholars, however, who started their careers in the last half of the nineteenth century discarded their teachers' religious ends while building on their teachers' scholarly lessons. Daniel Coit Gilman (Yale, 1852), for instance, took his teachers' scholarly lessons with him when he became president of Johns Hopkins. But to avoid possible charges of religious partisanship, he joined no Baltimore church and retained his membership in the New Haven church that he had belonged to while a resident of that city.[39]

New Haven scholarship thus has a complex relationship to historical change. The scholars adopted a secular vocation and mode of expression to conserve their religious world view. Noah Porter's critic, Richard Hofstadter, consequently told only one part of the story when he focused on Porter's opposition to the rise of the modern university. Rather it might be said that both Noah Porter and Richard Hofstadter spoke within one tradition of modern scholarship. Admittedly Porter and Hofstadter drew their thinking about the college from different cores of belief and looked forward to very different futures. Porter, for instance, had evangelical hopes derived from his Congregationalism, while Hofstadter had entirely secular hopes, stemming from a complex of values loosely defined as liberal cosmopolitanism. Still neither practiced the ivory-tower type of scholarship that Bruce Kuklick sees coming into existence at Harvard in the late nineteenth-century. There, he finds, philosophers became professionals who produced "technical specialized research published for technically competent audiences in technical journals, with popularizations in all areas of specialization relegated to hacks, incompetents, and has-beens."[40] Both Porter and Hofstadter tried to persuade educated readers that scholarship was useful. Porter's definition of useful was romantic, for he saw college graduates as role models and sources of ideas for other men. Hofstadter, in contrast, defined useful in a practical sense. He wanted his readers to support social scientists, such as Charles Merriam, who supplied government with ideas and information necessary for the management of American society. Further, both Porter and Hofstadter opposed the anti-intellectual and emotional extremes of the popular evangelicalism of their times that they saw threatening the progress of knowledge as well as the authority of educated elites. These areas of agreement show that a full understanding of Porter and Hofstadter must include an appreciation of them as more than merely proponent and opponent of the modern university. Their common vision of the scholar as the leader of an educated elite and of the crucial relationship of this elite to American life suggests that both men belong to the modern period of American educational history. From an institutional perspective, the modern period may begin with the rise of the university in the 1870s. But from the perspective of scholarship, the modern period of American higher educational history has another, earlier beginning with Noah Porter and the New Haven scholars.

NOTES

1. Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955). Hofstadter states this distinction even more clearly in "The Revolution in Higher Education," in Arthur M. Schlesinger and Morton White, eds., *Paths of American Thought*, reprint ed., 1963 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1970), pp. 269-90. The most important elaboration of this difference appears in Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). For a more recent summary see Mark A. Noll, "Christian Thinking and the Rise of the American University," *Christian Scholar's Review* 9 (November, 1979): 3-16. James McLachlan discusses revisions now in progress in "The American College in the Nineteenth Century: Towards a Reappraisal," *Teachers College Record* 80 (December, 1978): 287-306.

   The Yale Report of 1828 is reprinted in Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education a Documentary History*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 1:276-91, and p. 278 specifically Lawrence A. Cremin refers to "the pervasive influence of the Scottish philosophy in American colleges during virtually the entire span of the nineteenth century" (Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876* [New York: Harper & Row, 1980], p. 27).

2. For the sources of modern scholarship see Veysey, *American University*, chap. 3; Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965); and Carl Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship, 1770-1870* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

3. Daniel Walker Howe defines Whig political and cultural beliefs in *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 1-42. For professors at antebellum colleges see Howe's *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1806-1861* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); and Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977). For Princeton see Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University

of Chicago Press, 1970), chap. 5; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), chap. 5; and J. David Hoeveler, *James McCosh and the Scottish Intellectual Tradition, from Glasgow to Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 213-28.

4. Biographies of the New Haven scholars appear in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1932 ed.; *Appleton's Nineteenth Century American Biographies*, 1892 ed. Also see Yale Classbooks and Obituary Records for the appropriate years and funeral sermons or obituary articles that appeared in the *New Englander*. Complete bibliographies of all the New Haven scholars except Woolsey are in Irving Fisher, ed., *Bibliographies of the Present Officers of Yale University, Together with the Bibliography of the Late President Porter* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1893).

5. James Dwight Dana, *Manual of Mineralogy*, new ed. (New Haven: Durrie and Peck, 1857), reprint ed. (New Haven: H. H. Peck, 1867), p. 18, and George Park Fisher, *The Reformation* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1873), pp. 551-52.

6. Compare Porter's definition of psychology as "the science of the human soul" and James's definition of psychology as "the science of mental life." Noah Porter, *The Human Intellect* (New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1868), p. 5, and William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols. (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1890), 1:1.

7. Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 248, 253, 264; George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1937* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), pp. 57-65. No primary source suggests that Porter was an able administrator. However, some do suggest that Porter encouraged the development of scholarship as defined in this paper. Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944), reprint ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), pp. 20-21, and Veysey, *American University*, pp. 147, 100, 138, 195. Porter is not Veysey's sole spokesman for academic, political, and religious conservatism; he is often paired with James McCosh.

8. Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), esp. pp. 136-46; James McLachlan, "American Colleges and the Transmission of Culture: The Case of the Mugwumps," in *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*, eds. Stanley Elkins and Erik McKitrick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), pp. 184-206.

9. Elizabeth Flower and Murray G. Murphey, *A History of Philosophy in America*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), I: xiv, xvi-xix; Hoeveler, *McCosh*, chap. 7; Herbert Hovenkamp, *Science and Religion in America, 1800-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); and Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in An Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1977). For a thorough explanation of the implications of the Scottish philosophy for religion, see Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, pp. 14-16.

10. Porter describes his opposition to certain college reforms in Chapter 1 of his *The American Colleges and the American Public, with After-thoughts on College and School Education*, 2nd

ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1870, 1878). When this book is read in conjunction with Porter's "Inaugural Address," it becomes clear that he wanted to reform the college of the 1828 Yale Report and make Yale into a home for scholarship. See Noah Porter, "Inaugural Address," in *Addresses at the Inauguration of Professor Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D., as President of Yale College, October 11, 1871* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1871).

11. Porter, *Human Intellect*, p. 5. For the meaning of social science to this generation, see Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1977); and for natural science, Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, *The Formation of the American Scientific Community: The American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1848-1860* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1976).

    During the years 1827-1830, Woolsey studied at the Universities of Leipzig, Bonn, and Berlin and in Paris; from 1836 to 1840 Salisbury was at Paris and Berlin and from 1842 to 1843 at Bonn and Paris. Whitney studied at the Universities of Berlin and Tübingen from 1850 to 1853. Fisher was at the University of Halle, 1852-1854; Hoppin and Porter were at the University of Berlin 1845-1846 and 1853-1854 respectively. Few Americans studied at German universities and then pursued academic careers as the New Haven scholars did. In the 1840s there were 24, and in the 1850s, 51. For a statistical breakdown of American students at German universities see Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship*, pp. 155-62. For information on the New Haven scholars, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1932 ed.; George Park Fisher, Diary, 1852-1854, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Conn.; George A. King, *Theodore Dwight Woolsey: His Political and Social Ideas* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956), p. 25; and Noah Porter to Theodore Dwight Woolsey, 12 December 1853, Woolsey Family Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

12. Porter, *Human Intellect*, p. 5; George Park Fisher, *Outlines of Universal History* (New York: Ivison, Blakeman Taylor & Co., 1885), pp. vii-viii; Tracy Peck, Lecture Notes, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.; and William Dwight Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language: Twelve Lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science* (New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867).

13. Edward Elbridge Salisbury, *An Inaugural Discourse on Arabic and Sanskrit Literature delivered in New Haven Wednesday, August 16, 1843* (New Haven, 1843), pp. 44, 50; James Dwight Dana to Francis Wayland, 25 July 1850, as quoted in Stanley M. Guralnick, "The American Scientist in Higher Education, 1820-1910," in *The Sciences in the American Context: New Perspectives*, ed. Nathan Reingold (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1979), p. 116; and George Park Fisher to Charles Scribner, 14 October 1878, and 24 January 1878, Charles Scribner's Sons Papers, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J.

14. Peck, Lecture Notes, and William Dwight Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language* (New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867), p. 10.

15. Fisher, *Universal History*, p. 7; David Nelson Beach, Lecture Notes on Church History, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Conn,; Fisher, *Reformation*, pp. v-viii; and

Porter, *Human Intellect*, pp. 5, 158. Also see [Noah Porter], "Recent Works in Psychology," *New Englander* 13 (1855): 133-34.

16. Maurice Mandelbaum in *History, Man and Reason* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), p. 143, associates the Scottish philosophy with this theory of social change.

17. [Noah Porter], "On Moral Science as a Branch of Academical Education," *Quarterly Christian Spectator* 6 (1834): 575, 578-79. For Woolsey's theory of elites see his "Leading Elements in Civilization," 1865, p. 30, in Woolsey Family Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. The New Haven scholars did not address the issue of women's education and women's role in public life. I argue that their educational ideas were adapted to the supposedly special nature of women by Porter's sister Sarah in my "Sarah Porter Educated Useful Ladies, 1847-1900," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 18, no. 1 (1983): 39-59.

18. Theodore Dwight Woolsey, *An Introduction to the Study of International Law*, 4th ed. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1874), p. x; Porter, *Human Intellect*, p. v.

19. See Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*; idem, *The Life and Growth of Language* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875), and George Park Fisher, "Elements of Puritanism," *North American Review* 135 (1881): 326-37. Complete bibliographies of the periodical literature appear in Fisher, ed., *Bibliographies*.

20. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), reprint ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1967), 2:312-15, and advertisement, *New Englander* 38 (1879): 91.

21. Prospectus, *New Englander* 1 (1843): 2, and Leonard Bacon to Alexander Twining, 26 March 1843, Bacon Family Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

22. Prospectus, *New Englander*, p. 2; Publisher's Note, *New Englander* 16 (1858), n.p.; Editor's Note, *New Englanger* 29 (1870): n.p.; and advertisement, *New Englander* 38 (1879): 91.

23. [George Park Fisher], "Review of Mrs. Stowe's *Dred*," *New Englander* 14 (1856): 515-26; idem, "Of the Distinction between Natural and Political Rights," *New Englander* 23 (1864): 1-27; [Noah Porter], "Thorndale, or the Conflict of Opinions," *New Englander* 17 (1859): 652-86.

24. Fisher's essays were collected in *Essays on the Supernatural Origins of Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1865); and Hoppin's in *The Early Renaissance* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892). Compare William Dwight Whitney, "China and the West," *New Englander* 19 (1861): 1-31, and his "On the Nature and Designation of the Accent in Sanskrit," *Transactions of the American Philological Associated for 1869-1870* (1871), pp. 20-45.

25. For example, an editor's note in 1857 suggested that "Christian readers" should "rise above the habits of a national or provincial theology, and . . . become freely and fearlessly acquainted with the modes of thought that prevail among devout and learned men in other lands and of other languages." (Editor's note, *New Englander* 15 [1857]: n.p.).

26. Mott, *American Magazines*, 1:310. For example, "Goldsmith and his Writing," *Quarterly Christian Spectator* 10 (1838): 18-36, and "Theatrical Amusements," *Quarterly Christian Spectator* 10 (1838): 557-72.

27. Peter L. Berger's description of secularization parallels the process of change from the *Christian Spectator* through the *Yale Review*. See his *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1967), pp. 107, 113-51; idem, *Facing Up to Modernity: Excursions in Society, Politics, and Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); and Peter L. Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness* (New York: Random House, 1967).

28. Editors' Statement, *Yale Review* 1 (1893): n.p.

29. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 420-21.

30. On Merriam see Barry D. Karl, *Charles E. Merriam and the Study of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). Yale president Timothy Dwight argued in 1892 that women should be admitted to Yale graduate programs so that they could receive specialized training in preparation for careers, such as teaching, specifically suited to the nature of women. See his "Education for Women at Yale," *Forum* 13 (1892): 451-63. Thus, it is improper to see *scholar* and *scholarship* including only men after this date, even though both terms had special meanings when the person under discussion was a woman.

31. George Park Fisher compares Woolsey to Niebuhr in "The Academic Career of Ex-President Woolsey," *Century* 24 (1882): 716. Porter invokes the example of Arnold in his "Inaugural Address," p. 51.

32. Noah Porter, "The Youth of the Scholar," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 3 (1846): 99, 97.

33. For Porter's reservations about the scholar's life see ibid., pp. 117-18, and Porter, *Human Intellect*, p. viii. Fisher's view of the scholar's usefulness is in "Woolsey," p. 716.

34. Fisher, "Woolsey," p. 716.

35. See Theodore Dwight Woolsey, "Attributes of the State," lectures, Woolsey Family Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.; idem, *Political Science, or the State Theoretically and Practically Considered*, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1878), 1:192-98, and 232-34 on Rousseau.

36. See for instance, Porter, *Human Intellect*, pp. 519-26, and the various essays in his *Science and Sentiment* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882); Fisher, *Supernatural Origins* and his *History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887), pp. 625-26; Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, pp. 49, 52, 421, 441; idem, "Darwinism and Language," *North American Review* 119 (1874): 88; and idem, "The Value of Linguistic Science to Ethnology," *New Englander* 26 (1867): 30-52.

37. [Noah Porter], "The New Infidelity," *New Englander* 11 (1853): 277-95.

38. Wilson Smith in his *Professors and Public Ethics: Studies of Northern Moral Philosophy before the Civil War* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956), esp. chaps. 1, 2, 9, describes the unity of values found in the senior-year moral philosophy course of the old-time college.

39. Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 68.

40. Bruce Kuklick, *The Rise of American Philosophy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 565.

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Incipit Vita Nuova: Founding Ideals of the Wellesley College Community

Patricia Palmieri

> In what sense was the 19th century college a community? If such a sense really existed was it universal and constant or only transitory and happenstance? Who or what created it? Was it elusive or fragile? What flavor and force did it lend to college life.[1]

THESE AND OTHER QUESTIONS POSED in 1970 by Wilson Smith in his essay "Apologia Pro Alma Matre: The College as a Community in AnteBellum America," have remained largely unanswered. Instead, historians of higher education have tended to concentrate their attention on the research university. For historians, the late nineteenth century liberal arts college is an "old time college," dominated by denominationalism, resistant to science, backward in the art of teaching, with a curriculum that "acted as a prison guarding a subject population."[2] This neglect of the importance of the liberal arts college and the concomitant dismissal of the community spirit that often characterized it has been particularly detrimental to the study of women's collegiate experience. Even those few scholars who have studied women's colleges have, unfortunately, fallen prey to the larger historiographic consensus. Such studies consistently castigate women's colleges, labeling them genteel citadels of domesticity that enforced rather than questioned the cult of "true womanhood," a set of nineteenth century cultural norms expecting of women piety, purity, domesticity and submission. Additionally, such scholars commonly treat academic women employed in women's colleges as second rate intellectuals who, because they sometimes lacked the credentials accrued by men, were inferior scholars. The curriculum of women's colleges is often dismissed because scholars believe that they simply imitated the moribund classical model rapidly being discarded by elite male liberal arts colleges.[3]

It is beyond the scope of this essay to tackle the assumptions behind these negative assessments of women's educational institutions. Let it suffice that because these colleges galvanized women students and faculty they were immediately labeled "dangerous experiments." Nevertheless, it is necessary to state at the outset that such conclusions hardly do justice to the women's colleges which opened during the period from 1865 to 1885. They were extraordinarly innovative institutions which did indeed challenge the established male hegemony in academe.

This essay will study the founding of the Wellesley College community, taking seriously Wilson Smith's charge that we view nineteenth century colleges as communities. I hope thereby to advance not only our understanding of college building in the Gilded Age, but to explore more fully the concept of community as it relates to the development of women's higher education in that era.

Henry and Pauline Durant, a pair of romantic, evangelical reformers, founded Wellesley College in 1875. As other nineteenth century reformers they believed in education, human perfectability, and community. Henry Durant who selected everything that went into the making of Wellesley College, from the bricks for College Hall to the wildflowers he planted on campus and from the microscopes and books to the first women faculty, personally chose a motto from Dante to mark the college's opening: *"Incipit Vita Nuova"* (The New Life Begins). It was an appropriate choice, because Durants' Wellesley was an educational community which would change the lives of middle-class New England women, formerly victims of "true womanhood" with its paralyzing piety, purity, domesticity and submissiveness. Wellesley students were to become "new women," who would go out into the world, usually as teachers, to demonstrate the possibilities of reform in their own lives and use their education for the social purpose of uplifting the educational system. The most radical feature of this new community was the appointment of an all women faculty. To the community outside of Wellesley, this extraordinary feature most reflected Durant's visionary utopianism, because few women held professorships in colleges. At the time of its opening, then, Wellesley was hardly an archaic artifact; rather it was hailed as an institution "which confirmed the century's progress." As one newspaper noted:

> The President, professors and students are all women; only two men belong to the establishment, the chief cook and the chief baker.[4]

Despite this radical feature, Wellesley College was also a community that reflected the ideals and lives of the Durants. Disillusioned with urban America and having lost their own family, they hoped to recreate a new family of students and faculty who would become a "little world under one roof."[5] Loyalty was the hallmark of this family:

> Mr. Durant was wont to say if Wellesley College meets our expectations we must have a loyal faculty and loyal students. Loyalty or locked doors must be our motto. United we stand, divided we fall.[6]

So long as Henry Durant remained in control, divisiveness rather than unity plagued the Wellesley College community. Probably this is because he mixed in his college experiment ideals and expectations about educated womanhood. Durant's vision of intellectual women was tied to old romantic notions about virtuous womanhood, that even bright women were expected to uphold an appropriate behavioral code. Moreover, his ideal included the belief that Wellesley could be at once a seminary, a college, and a university. Loyalty to this mixed vision was difficult, if not impossible. It caused conflicts within Durant himself and within his college community. Indeed, within one year Henry Durant's personal Eden began to crumble and on its ruins women faculty and students created an Adamless Eden, more in tune with their own hopes and collegiate ideals. To understand this transformation, we must first examine the lives and ideals of the founders, their educational philosophy and how they translated that philosophy into the Wellesley College experiment. We shall then turn to what students and faculty made of the community planned for them. Ultimately I think this portrait of the founding years at Wellesley College will illuminate the tensions and complexities inherent not only within late nineteenth century ideals for collegiate women but also endemic to women's colleges which were too often dismissed as domestic, genteel and lackluster monoliths.

Henry Fowle Durant was born Henry Welles Smith in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1822. He seems always to have been a misfit. As many men of his century, he found repugnant the conventional roles offered males. A succession of female mentors and a romantic philosophy which he always equated with feminine values molded the critical contours of his life and career. The first influences on Smith were his mother, an aunt who graduated from Mount Holyoke, and an early teacher, Mrs. Sara Ripley, the aunt of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Ripley was a brilliant woman who could, in Durant's words, "hold the baby, shell the peas, and listen to a recital in Greek, all in the same moment."[7] She was the source of his vision of educated women. Under Ripley's tutelage Smith developed a deep love of poetry and came to scorn the career in law which his father wanted for him.

Smith went to Harvard in 1837, but found little that appealed to him. After his graduation in 1841, he read law but was deeply alienated. He still hoped to devote himself to poetry. Although he complained to an old college friend of the "drudgery of a lawyer's life," he passed the bar in 1843 with compliments from the judge. Yet he lamented:

> I feel a certain vanity (not unmixed, by the way, with self-contempt) at my success, for I well remember I and a dear friend of mine used to mourn over the possibility of our ever becoming business men, and lo, I am a lawyer.[8]

In 1851, with one of the few poetic gestures afforded him, Henry Welles Smith changed his name to Henry Fowle Durant, names taken from his mother's side of the family.

Durant was an eminently successful lawyer, whose prestige in Massachusetts approached that of his contemporary, Daniel Webster, and whose business investments made him wealthy. Yet neither professional acclaim nor financial prosperity could dispel a sense of alienation. He could not, or would not, abandon his love of the poetic, the company of sympathetic men and women, and the natural beauty of rural New England. Durant felt isolated and lonely in Boston. He depicted his fellow lawyers, himself included, as "drunkards, who live shut up in their own glass bottles."[9] Although Durant prospered, he continued contemptuous of the law. He desperately needed a new vocation. Scorning politics, he began delivering lectures on the virtues of rural life, the dangers of wealth and commerce, and the need to educate everyone, rich and poor, for a more democratic, harmonious society.

In this he was aided by his pious wife, the former Pauline Fowle Cazenove, who served as an antidote to the "crass, selfish men" with whom he associated by day. Henry met Pauline, his first cousin, while still in college. They married in 1854; he was 32, she was 21. Pauline's evangelical fervor matched Henry's poetic and aesthetic nature. She had wanted to attend Mount Holyoke Seminary, but deaths in her family prevented her. Still, she never gave up her faith in women's education.

The couple maintained a house in Boston because of Henry Durant's law practice, but the real center of their family life was a farm cottage, the "Homestead," in the township of Needham, Massachusetts. There a son, Harry, was born and then a daughter who died within six weeks of her birth. Her death deeply affected both Durants. Pauline turned to Christ, but Durant threw himself into more worldly pursuits, enlarging his library and purchasing three hundred acres of land which he planned to develop and endow as an estate for his son. Then, in 1863 little Harry, who was 6 years of age, died. For Durant the deaths of two children redoubled his other losses: youth, the warm, intellectual Ripley household, and the dream of a life devoted to poetry. He now heeded his wife's pleas that they serve God by devoting themselves to a worthy cause. They sold their home and moved to New York. But soon they were anxious to be among their friends and returned to Boston. Influenced by Dwight Moody, Durant became a lay itinerant minister; Pauline Durant founder and president of the Boston Young Women's Christian Association.

Evangelicalism and good works provided only part of the answer to the Durants' loneliness. He chose not to become officially ordained, seeking instead other ways to effect social reform. Education was central to all the plans he explored, and the higher education of women presented an attractive avenue for social reform, evocative of the ideals that had shaped him from youth. Since his upbringing was largely the work of educated women, it is not surprising that the idea of a community of intellectual women appealed to him. Durant thought of higher education as a way for women to move from private, purely domestic existence into the public sphere. Educated women would mold their own lives and the lives of others as teachers and social reformers. Durant's memories of his former teacher Sarah Ripley obviously shaped his views. So too did the experience of his wife after the deaths of her children, for as, Durant often pointed out, Pauline was rescued by social activism from an "idle and fruitless life."[10]

To Durant, women were especially suited to counterbalance male roles, which he identified with crass commercialism, social isolation, and death. Women were central to his critique of social norms and values. They were to be the antidote to moral and social sterility. He was not alone in espousing the ability of women to transform the masculine world; his ideology was consistent with that of other nineteenth century reformers, such as Catharine Beecher and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who conceived of women as morally superior beings capable of purifying culture. However, unlike many, he did not relegate women to a separate domestic sphere. Rather, he believed that women should participate in public life and that such participation would follow from access to institutions of higher education. Durant believed that women's secondary status derived from social and not biological causes. In this he was philosophically compatible with advocates of women's rights who asserted that women had been assigned illegitimately the position of second class citizenship. Indeed, as proponents of women's rights in the 1840s and 1860s focussed upon the vote as a means for social change, Durant fixed upon higher education.[11]

In 1867, the Durants decided to found a college for women on their three hundred acre estage, to be called Wellesley, from an old family name. Durant's decision to found a women's college was inextricably mixed with his and Pauline's craving for community. Along with their decision to construct a college went their hope for a new life, an end to the alienation which had long troubled Henry. That hope was realized. Even before Wellesley opened its doors in 1875, Durant experienced a moral and social regeneration. He was at hand every day, supervising the construction of the college. In the process, he proclaimed that he had "cured the poverty within himself."[12] Similarly, since Wellesley was a joint venture, it brought a new mutuality to the Durants. A guest at the Durants' home, who remembered them busily planning the college together, observed that they shared a sense of mission. Through the college Durant also forged new friendships. He found a spiritual brother in Eben Horsford, a chemistry professor at Harvard and also a self-made millionaire, who shared Durant's ideals for women's education. Horsford helped Durant select the first women science faculty, and advised on curriculum and laboratory design.[13]

Henry and Pauline derived many benefits from their task. The opening of Wellesley College in 1875 represented not only the fulfillment of their dream to construct a community but the culmination of their attempt to remake their lives. Yet, their private lives intersected with a wider social history. Aspects of the Durants' feelings of loss and despair, alienation from a healthy rural life, antipathy towards cities, a passionate belief in the curative and reforming powers of education and the quest for renewal through the creation of new forms of community were common themes in nineteenth century America. Indeed such feelings often led evangelical reformers to establish communities such as Brooke Farm and Oneida. The founding of Wellesley College placed the Durants within a broader social context. Wellesley was related to the religious and humanitarian wave of community building so important to nineteenth century romantic reform. It belies the conclusions of many social historians that the American reform movement was spent by the end of the Civil War and that the Gilded Age was a kind of dark ages bereft of social protest.[14] Similarly, it seems erroneous to conclude, as have many historians of women, that the 1870s was a period of doldrums for social equality. Such conclusions derive from studying the suffrage movement in isolation, without considering women's higher education.[15] Wellesley College was very much a part of the larger romantic reform tradition and the quest for women's equality.

Henry Durant mixed many social and educational ideals to formulate his radical experiment. A look at the institutional setting, the curriculum, and the faculty and students clarifies the outlines and the outcomes of his compound vision.

For Henry Durant, Wellesley College was a natural laboratory, an experimental community where he could put into practice his social and educational ideals. These ideals combined Durant's romantic faith in the power of beauty and nature to mold a better social character with his confidence that women could best prepare themselves for careers in a scientific environment. In his Wellesley College Plan, Durant called upon women to "revolt against the slavery in which women were held by the customs of society, to protest their broken health, aimless lives, and subordinate position and helpless dependence."[16]

To this end Durant conceived Wellesley as a hothouse for experimentation, a testing ground for the latest schemes for the social and physical regeneration of women. Through proper diet, exercise, and spiritual and intellectual study, women could slowly shed and ultimately disavow the ethos of frail, ornamental womanhood. He built College Hall on what he claimed was the "healthiest land in the state."[17] He polished the natural scenery by importing a thousand rhododendrons and azaleas for the lawns! In College Hall, which housed the campus and looked more like a cathedral than a college, he decorated rooms for didactic purposes. His most coveted room was the Elizabeth Barrett Browning Room, where a bust of the poet and the original manuscript of one of her poems served to remind students of what a woman genius could accomplish.

Durant even concocted a "Wellesley diet," which sought to counteract "the pernicious American habit of eating confectionary and sweetmeats at irregular hours." [sic][18] Dress reform was also part of Durant's program for social change. Dresses were to be "short enough for easy walking and free from heavy trimming."[19] The question of proper attire also related to the sense of community Durant was trying to foster. Expensive clothing beyond the means of most students would arouse sentiments erosive of the communal spirit. Durant's ideal woman was one who dressed simply and was known for her health, vigor, and scholarship rather than for modishness of dress.

This fervor for reform led Durant to experiment with a number of new curricular ideas, especially those emanating from German universities. In science this meant laboratories in which students participated in experiment and discovery with a sense of independence and adventure. Educational specialists invited to inspect the new college reported that Wellesley was better equipped for individual laboratory work than any male college. Wellesley surpassed Harvard in an emphasis on independent, scientific study, which "produced skepticism and much shaking of the head by Harvard at the radicalism of the former institution."[20]

While Wellesley's first curriculum retained the traditional classical subjects such as Greek and Latin and moral philosophy, it also introduced the study of French and German, modern English literature, and scientific disciplines including botany, zoology, geology, chemistry, and physics (see table 1). One scientists remarked that Wellesley had a chair in botany when such professors were "scarcer than blue roses."[21] Durant advocated a strong mathematics curriculum for women. The college prospectus boasted a library whose 120,000 volumes approximated the contents of that at Harvard.

The most radical feature of the Wellesley College experiment was the appointment of a totally female professoriate. Durant felt that educated womanhood deserved the chance to lead an intellectual community: "Women can do the work, I will give them the chance."[22] This endorsement of women also illustrated Durant's propensity to flout tradition and his constant urge to be in the advance guard. He once commented, "If we were like other colleges, we would not be what we ought to be."[23]

Durant hired seven department heads with the rank of professor and accorded eleven other faculty the title of lecturer. All had to be members of evangelical churches. All had to live in College Hall. Although records from which to draw a portrait of the first full professors are few, we know that Sarah Glazier and Helen Storke held bachelor's degrees from Vassar College and had studied with the famous astronomer and proponent of women's rights Maria Mitchell.[24] Other women faculty were self-educated. Durant gave two women, Sarah Frances Whiting and Susan Hallowell, the opportunity to spend their first year studying at MIT.[25] While he elevated these women and believed in their intellectual abilities, he also betrayed his concern for women's behavior and the community's approval by appointing an appropriate role model as president, Ada Howard, a Mount Holyoke graduate who epitomized the submissive woman. She was to be the keeper of his vigilant regulations.[26]

During the first week of September 1875 more than three hundred young women with their families congregated at Wellesley College. To a remarkable degree, everyone connected with Wellesley shared the crusading spirit, the conscious sense of participation in a reform movement, and the thrill of adventure that had inspired the Durants. One alumna wrote:

> We were pioneers in the adventure — voyagers in the crusade for the higher education of women — that perilous

TABLE 1
WELLESLEY'S FIRST CURRICULUM (1875)

	Required Subjects	Electives*+
Freshman Year	Latin Mathematics History Essay Writing Elocution Modern English Literature	Greek German French
Sophomore Year	Latin Mathematics Chemistry Medieval History Essay Writing Elocution History of Literature	Analytical Geometry Calculus Greek German French Botany
Junior Year	Physics Modern History Essay Writing Elocution History of Literature Rhetoric and Literary Criticism	Latin Greek Mathematics German French Chemistry Botany Zoology
Senior Year	Mental and Moral Philosophy History of Philosophy Modern History Essay Writing Anglo-Saxon Early English Literature	Latin Greek Mathematics German French Analytical Chemistry Botany Zoology Geology Physics

*Freshmen and sophomores were required to elect one subject; juniors and seniors any two subjects.

+Systematic study of the Scriptures was also included in this curriculum. No separate biblical history department existed, however.

> experiment of the 1870s which all the world was breathlessly watching and which the prophets were declaring to be so inevitably fatal to the American girl."[27]

It was an important coincidence that in the same year a Dr. Edward Clarke of Harvard had published a book, *Sex in Education*, warning that the rigors of college life would undermine women's health. And the first Wellesley students were very much aware of this attitude and of a national interest in their experiment. Later accounts of the College opening attest to their faith in themselves as "mothers of a noble line," whose personal success or failure would reflect upon the cause of the College.[28] This was just the kind of loyalty to Wellesley which the Durants hoped to foster. Yet, despite this devotion to the community ethos, indeed because of it, conflicts began to appear.

Almost immediately everyone associated with the College experienced disappointment and frustration. For the faculty and founders, a major disappointment lay with the more than three hundred students who enrolled, of whom only thirty passed the entrance examination. A preparatory, semi-collegiate class had to be established. This was a source of chagrin for Durant, who noted in the catalogue that this college was not for indifferent students but for those judged capable of college work. He announced that the preparatory department was only temporary and would be abandoned as soon as possible.

Other disappointments followed. Not all the Wellesley students spontaneously exhibited the degree of moral and social perfection Durant expected from young ladies. Durant's presumption that natural and spontaneous bonds of loyalty would regulate the community proved naive; very soon he started drafting formal rules and issued a "Grey Book" of regulations for the College's government.

Still, during the first year, Durant did not lose his vision of Wellesley as a female Harvard equipped with the latest scientific apparatus and an equal library and intellectually qualified women professors. He even drafted more elaborate plans, dreaming of adding a medical college, a scientific observatory, and an art school. At the same time, to the amazement and dismay of students, he commenced an effort to convert souls with the fervor he applied to educating women's minds. Among students and faculty this religiosity was a constant source of ridicule. One student noted: "I loved his poetic side but his fanaticism drove me out of the church and theology for all time."[29]

Henry Durant advertised Wellesley as a college, but the students and faculty did not agree. They associated proliferating regulations and religious exhortations with life in a seminary and kept pressing for Wellesley to transcend its seminarian qualities. The model most students were reacting against was Mount Holyoke Seminary, which many had not attended because it did not offer a true collegiate course. Wellesley students self-consciously insisted that they be treated as college women. For example, Mary Elizabeth Stillwell, of the class of 1879, complained:

> Wellsesley is not a college. The buildings are beautiful, perfect almost; the rooms and their appointments are delightful, most of the professors are all that could be desired . . . but all these things are not the things that make a college. And Oh! the experiments. It is enough to try the patience of Job. I am here to take a *college course* and not to dabble in a little of every insignificant thing that comes up. I am not the only one that feels it but every member of the freshman class has the same feeling and not only the students but even the professors. You can have no idea of how these very professors have worked to have things different and have expostulated and expostulated with Mr. Durant, but all to no avail. He is as hard as flint and his mind is made up of the most beautiful theories, but he is perfectly blind to facts. He rules the college, from the amount of Latin we shall read to the kind of meat we shall have for dinner. . . .[30]

Nowhere was the tension better examplified than in the clash between the strong women faculty Durant had appointed, some with degrees from Vassar and others who were firm supporters of women's rights, and President Ada Howard and a few lecturers who formed a Mount Holyoke coterie. Durant seems even to have expected this friction, for he noted when he appointed Howard that she would face "severe trials," adding, "She will be a target to be shot at."[31] Kindly students characterized Miss Howard as the "perfect Mid-Victorian gentlewoman."[32] Others were not nearly so charitable. In a college where the healthy, vigorous, intellectual woman was the ideal, Ada Howard was an incongruous figure. She suffered from obscure illnesses which made her appear an invalid in the eyes of the community. Hardly an intellectual, she gave Biblical instruction in an old-fashioned way that, as Frances Robinson Johnson '79 complained, "didn't make the subject interesting at all." In Johnson's opinion she didn't advance any ideas except "those old theories."[33]

A vigilant enforcer of Henry Durant's growing list of regulations, Howard tried to "press her somewhat narrow conception of discipline upon . . . a restive student body." She lectured students on "slamming doors, whistling, . . . running through halls and talking above a whisper after lights out. . . ."[34] To students, the regimen she upheld was unbecoming a college. A poem found in several student notebooks conveys their ridicule; it reads in part:

Miss Howard stood up in Chapel
With puffs all over her head
"Young ladies keep your doors closed
Lest gentlemen see your bed."

* * * * * * *

Miss Howard said, "Young ladies,
One pleasant morn in June
When I awoke from slumber
The world was all in tune,

"I walked along the corridor,
And saw all things in keeping
Until alas! I chanced to hear
Young ladies, evil speaking

"And Oh! It spoiled my music
And made the whole world sad
To think that *our* young ladies
Could be so very bad!"

* * * * * * *

"When on your journey homeward
Young ladies," so said she
"Think *I am Wellesley College*
And act accordingly."

Should you return, young ladies
Come not with hearts contrary,
Come back "non ministrari,"
Come back "sed ministrare."

Come not for education
Or your resolves will fail
Come not unless you can our rules
As your best wisdom, hail.[35]

To the students, the Vassar-trained faculty embodied the intellectual achievements of women which the outside world thought experimental and visionary. They were "superwomen," feared and adored.[36] Ada Howard, on the other hand, exemplified the "repressive Mount Holyoke tradition that shrouded Wellesley in its first years."[37] The faculty and students felt that she constantly evaded making decisions and longed for a more decisive leader. For a time, they found that leader in Sarah Glazier, who challenged Durant's authority in the spring of 1876.

Because Wellesley was yet not legally able to grant degrees, Durant had invited the Boston Board of Visitors to survey the college. He expected the regular schedule of recitations to be interrupted for what students and faculty termed a performance. Glazier felt that this way to demonstrate the ladies' accomplishments resembled that of women's seminaries when they sought to show off their students' abilities. To her this conjured up the image of woman as ornament, and it evidenced a lack of regard for women's intellectual independence. The incident also symbolized Durant's contradictory desires: to parade Wellesley before the larger educational community as a successful college and to maintain a seminary-like conformity within the College. Glazier led a delegation of teachers to ask Durant to say whether Wellesley was a college or a seminary. He answered "that so far as the intellectual work was concerned it was a college, but in its care for the student's health, morals, etc., it was a seminary." Glazier tried to get Durant to alter his plans, but he held firmly to his convictions.[38]

Moreover, a definite sisterhood had developed at Wellesley. Faculty and students felt themselves to be insiders and resented evaluation by outside authorities, especially men. As college women they considered themselves equal with men. The incident provoked scorn for the power and dominance of men among the faculty. They incited their students caustic criticism of the Board.

A week after the Board's visit, Durant dismissed Glazier and two other sympathetic teachers. The students were stunned and wrote home that Mr. Durant had dismissed the three leading teachers in the college. Frances Johnson, class of 1879, for example, wrote her parents:

> All Mr. Durant gives for a reason is that they conflict with the government of the college. . . . Now I'll tell you what the real reasons are — Miss Howard and the under-teachers have always been jealous them. The Professors have always been opposed to Wellesley College being a seminary. . . . They have not bowed down and worshipped

> that woman; in fact I don't think they think anything of her. The very idea of H. having anything to say . . . I never thought of H's knowing anything; always thought of her as the one to give permission — to refuse . . . and to order us around and be hateful. She is only a graduate from So. Hadley.[39]

In another letter home, Johnson scornfully remarked: "Mr. Durant said he would have no professors next term. . . . What a Harvard that will be!"[40] She thought it likely that Wellesley would become a "Second Mount Holyoke."[41]

This student interpretation of events is confirmed by a letter written in 1876 by Bessie Capen, professor of chemistry, who resigned in indignation:

> You know very well, that I have never had confidence in Miss Howard; certainly not in her ability. . . . As for yourself . . . [w]hen you asked me to come to Wellesley, you entirely misrepresented to me the character that you intended to give the school. If you had told me the truth, while I could not of course have questioned your right to make it what you pleased, I should have known at once that it was not the place for me. You *knew* I should decide so, and the personal injury you have done me in thus deceiving me, I will not pretend to have the grace to overlook. I do feel it bitterly. It almost shakes my faith in the power of Christianity itself. You profess so much. You have dealt so unfairly.[42]

In the end, Sarah Glazier moved to temper the hostility and to heal the wounds of the community. At chapel she spoke openly, saying that if she had known that she was to be under seminary government she would have acted differently. She asked Mr. Durant's forgiveness for her wrongdoing and forgave him for what he had done. Loyal students took the dismissed teachers rowing, crowning them with daisies and conveying their love and respect.[43]

For Henry Durant this episode had lasting repercussions. By dismissing the professors who challenged his authority, he successfully contained the revolt; but student defiance increased. Howard began to retreat into invalidism, and Durant was left to confront daily students who were far from his romantic ideal of noble womanhood. Some students flouted the dietary regulations; others damaged books. His vision tarnished, Durant began to withdraw from college life. His health began to fail. Also he suffered financial reversals that forced him to devote more time to his business enterprises in New York. Yet, Durant did not abandon his dream for Wellesley. He overlooked his threat to avoid more professors and continued to appoint strong intellectual women to the highest academic posts. In 1877 when he began to cast about for someone to take his place, someone to lead the College as its creative force, he did not seek for another lady principal from Mount Holyoke. Rather, he turned to the University of Michigan, whose president James B. Angell was his friend. Angell, also a staunch supporter of women's higher education, recommended a graduate of Michigan named Alice Freeman. Young, vigorous and intelligent. Freeman embodied the ideal of woman that had long infatuated Durant but what he had set aside for its president while he retained hope of controlling Wellesley's destiny. By choosing Freeman as his successor, Durant helped Wellesley to transcend the seminary model.[44]

From 1879 when she arrived until Durant's death in 1881, Freeman formed with him an "unofficial management team." He left instructions that she be promoted to the presidency. Still it was not clear that this young woman of 29 would be accepted by the trustees and other senior professors. In the weeks following Durant's death students described the atmosphere at Wellesley as "living in a volcano until at last the eruption came." Everyone knew that "some change must come soon for Miss Howard without Mr. Durant is nothing."[45]

Finally, an announcement was made at chapel that Ada Howard's health was failing, that she would take a long vacation, and that Professor Freeman would assume her duties. One student recalled:

> It was a time never to be forgotten. We marched quietly from the chapel, but then our agitation overcame us, we indulged in gymnastics both vocal and manual. In the evening the class of 1882 called upon the new President and came away firmly convinced that our good ship would sail steadily and prosperously on under its new ruler.[46]

There was "open tumultuous rejoicing at the change." Few noted the coach which three days later rolled away from College Hall with the furloughed President Howard. For the entire Wellesley community, the "age of iron" had ceased, a "new regime begun."[47]

How then are we to interpret the founding purposes and results of the Wellesley College experiment? Certainly, Durant's evangelicalism and his patriarchal attitudes towards women compromised his high goal of founding a true college for women, a condition etched clearly by his appointment of Ada Howard who upheld domesticity and gentility for Wellesley students. Too often histories assess only the ideals of the founders and conclude that an institution has fulfilled the founder's prophecies. At Wellesley this was not the case. However, judged by his mixed vision and subsequent actions, Durant did foster a radical experiment. He was a pioneer in college building. Affected by the new ideas in science, he designed a comprehensive curriculum that was on a par with some universities and in advance of many of the men's colleges. Eager to emancipate women from the old superstitions about their inadequate intellect, he promoted women as full professors, creating a community that was unmatched in academe.

The women's community that emerged almost immediately at Wellesley stretched Durant's prescribed definitions of a college, of collegiate women, and of community. He wanted to create a "perfect woman nobly planned," but his ideal woman was not free of mid-nineteenth century ideals about women's moral position in the community, their piety, and their submissiveness. Hardly submissive, Wellesley College women students and faculty rejected those ideals for ones stressing independence and female excellence. Their rebellion, although thwarted, is symptomatic of student and faculty initiative for a true college community in the late nineteenth century.

The Wellesley students and faculty were, like Henry Durant, tied to a moral definition of women's superiority. In Sarah Glazier and then in Alice Freeman they found their version of the noble woman. Their loyalty to Wellesley matched Durant's, but for them the bonds of Wellesley were wrought not merely from devotion to an institution or an idea, but from all they shared as collegiate women. As a totally female community, Wellesley became the source of these women's common identity.

NOTES

1. Wilson Smith, "Apologia Pro Alma Matre: The College as a Community in Antebellum America," in *The Hofstadter Aegis*, eds. Stanley Elkins and and Eric McKitrick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), p. 125.

2. A good summary of the conventional historical interpretations of liberal arts colleges is provided by James McLachlan, "The American College in the Nineteenth Century: Toward a Reappraisal," *Teachers College Record* 80 (1978): 287-306.

3. Barbara Welter coined the phrase "true womanhood" in her pathbreaking article, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-74. Negative assessments of women's colleges include: Elaine Kendall, *Peculiar Institutions* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975); Liva Baker, *I'm Radcliffe! Fly Me!* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1976); Roberta Frankfort, *Collegiate Women* (New York: New York University Press, 1977); and Sheila Rothman, *Women's Proper Place* (New York: Basic Books, 1978). Standard histories of higher education nearly always stereotype the curriculum of women's colleges as a non-innovative copy of that developed in men's colleges. See, for example, John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: An American History 1636-1956* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), p. 69, and Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University* (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 169.

4. "A Woman's College," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 28 October 1875, 1H Histories, Wellesley College Archives (hereafter cited as WCA).

5. Mary Barnett Burke, "The Growth of the College," *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine*, February 1970, p. 179.

6. Ada Howard, "Reminiscences of Henry Fowle Durant," 1DD1, WCA.

7. Durant as quoted in Margaret E. Taylor and Jean Glosscock, "The Founders and the Early Presidents," in *Wellesley College 1875-1975: A Century of Women*, ed. Jean Glosscock (Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College, 1975), pp. 2-3. Also see Frances W. Knickerbocker, "Ripley, Sarah Alden Bradford," in *Notable American Women 1607-1950*, eds. Edward T. James and Janet Wilson James (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 3:163-64.

8. Henry Durant as quoted in Florence Converse, *Wellesley College: A Chronicle of the Years 1875-1938* (Wellesley, Mass.: Hathaway House, 1939), pp. 13-14.

9. Henry Durant, *The Influences of Rural Life* (Boston: J. M. Hewes, 1860), pp. 17-18.

10. ALS. Marion Pelton Guild (Mrs. Guild's Reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. Durant, n.d., probably 1921), WCA.

11. The connection between the rhetoric, ideology and goals of the women's rights movement and the movement for higher education has never been adequately pursued. If one follows the thesis of Ellen DuBois that feminism did not die in the 1870s, one might persuasively argue that the movement for women's higher education in the late 19th century was a legacy of the women's rights movement of 1840-1870. See *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America 1848-1869* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978).

12. Durant, *The Influences of Rural Life*, p. 8.

13. Information on Eben Horsford was obtained from a transcribed oral interview with Andrew Fiske. 1H/1975 Centennial Historian, WCA. Fiske is Eben Horsford's great grandson. See also Margaret E. Taylor and Jean Glosscock, "The Founders and Early Presidents," pp. 18-21.

14. On pre-Civil War communitarian efforts, see John L. Thomas, "Romantic Reform in America, 1815, 1865," *American Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (Winter 1965): 656-81; and Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978). Both scholars conclude that there was a diminution of reform spirit after the Civil War. Walters sees the 1870s as a period when the old millenialism had "all but gone." *American Reformers,* p. 215. While I do not agree with Walters' conclusions about the decline of reform in the 1870s, I have profited from his analysis of the social context of reformers' motivations.

15. Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Doubleday, 1971), p. 4. Recently, some scholars studying women's higher educational history have challenged this interpretation. See Sally Kohlstedt, "Maria Mitchell: The Advancement of Women in Science," *New England Quarterly* (March 1978): 39-63 and n. 42f.

16. Henry Durant, *The Spirit of the College* (Boston: n.p., 1890), p. 3.

17. *Wellesley College Calendar* 1876-1877.

18. Ibid. Durant's diet reforms were no doubt influenced by Eben Horsford, a chemist who invented a number of health drinks and food substances and advertised them in the College's newspaper. For a discussion of the ideals of health reformers in the nineteenth century and how these affected the role of women, see Regina Morantz, "Making Women Modern: Middle Class Women and Health Reform in 19th Century America," *Journal of Social History* 10, no. 4 (June 1977): 490-507. For an interesting study of the symbolic importance of physical health for the Victorians, see Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

19. *Wellesley College Calendar* 1878-1879.

20. Lyman Abbott, "Wellesley College," *Christian Union*, 9 June 1880.

21. C. Stuart Gager, "Wellesley College and the Development of Botanical Education in America," *Science*, 17 February 1978. Susan Hallowell, who headed the department of botany at Wellesley, is discussed in Joan Burstyn, "Early Women in Education: The Role of the Anderson School of Natural History," *Journal of Education* 159, no. 3 (August 1977): 60-64.

22. Durant as quoted in Sarah Frances Whiting, "The Department of Physics," *College News*, 22 February 1911.

23. Durant as quoted in Whiting, "The Department of Physics."

24. Information on Sarah Glazier can be found in Helen Merrill, "The History of the Department of Mathematics," 3L Math Dept. Folder, WCA. The Vassar College Archives provide some biographical information on Glazier and Storke. There are also letters by Sarah Glazier written during her undergraduate years in Constance Mayfield Rourke, ed., "Some Vassar Letters," *Vassar Quarterly* (May 1922): 153-63.

25. Susan Hallowell and Sarah Frances Whiting, Faculty Biographical Files, WCA. See also Gladys Anslow, "Whiting, Sarah Frances," *Notable American Women*, 3:593-95.

26. Information on Ada Howard can be found in her Presidential File 1DD1, WCA.

27. Louise McCay North, "Speech for '79 and the Trustees at SemiCentennial," North Unprocessed Papers, WCA.

28. Dr. Edward H. Clarke, *Sex in Education, or A Fair Chance for the Girls* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1874). Student perceptions are recorded in Mary Russell Bartlett, "Wellesley Revisited," *Wellesley Magazine*, August 1925, p. 316.

29. Katharine Lee Bates as quoted in Taylor and Glosscock, "The Founders," p. 17.

30. Mary Elizabeth Stillwell as quoted in Converse, *Wellesley*, p. 26.

31. *Wellesley Magazine* 1895-1896, pp. 167-68; Hermann R. Muelder, "Whiting Hall: The Preservation of History," *Knox Reporter* 1, no. 5 (March 1977): 2; and lDDl Ada Howard, WCA.

32. Alice Payne Hackett, *Wellesley: Part of the American Story* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949), p. 69.

33. Frances Robinson Johnson to her mother, 8 January 1876 and 4 February 1877, Box 1, 6C, WCA.

34. Converse, *Wellesley*, p. 37; Charlotte Conant as quoted in Hackett, *Wellesley*, p. 69.

35. Amanda Harris, Notebook, 1877-1878, Box 1, 6C, Class of 1879; and Mary Ellen Whipple, Notebook, 1873-1879, Box 1, 6C, Class of 1879, WCA.

36. Estelle M. Hurll, "Professor Lord and Old Wellesley," *Wellesley Alumnae Quarterly* 5 (October 1920): 1.

37. Lucia Grieve, diary entry, 6/7 September 1882, 6C, Class of 1883, WCA.

38. As quoted by Helen Merrill in "The History of the Department of Mathematics," 3L, Math Department Folder, WCA.

39. Frances Robinson Johnson to her mother, Thursday [n.d.] June 1876, Box 1, 6C, Class of 1879, WCA.

40. Frances Robinson Johnson to her mother, 11 June 1876, Box 1, 6C, Class of 1879, WCA.

41. Frances Robinson Johnson to her mother, 18 June 1876, Box 1, 6C, Class of 1879, WCA.

42. Bessie Capen to Mr. Durant, 1 August 1876, Capen Unprocesses Papers, WCA.

43. Frances Robinson Johnson to her mother, 14 June 1876, Box 1, 6C, Class of 1879, WCA.

44. Barbara M. Solomon, "Freeman, Alice," *Notable American Women*, 3:4-8.

45. Emily Murdock to "Dear Flo," 11 November 1881, Box 1, 6C, Class of 1883, WCA.

46. Quoted in Hackett, *Wellesley*, p. 68.

47. Ibid., p. 70; and "Class History of 1885," Box 1, 6C, WCA.

Establishing a University in a Country Town: an Australian Case

Bruce Mitchell

IN 1938 STUDENTS STARTED COURSES at a new university college in a small country town in Australia: Armidale, about 350 miles from Sydney in northern New South Wales, with a population of about 7,000. The college was the first established by Sydney University, Australia's oldest university, and was named after the New England region, a phrase used generally since the 1830s to describe the tablelands and slopes of the northern part of the state. The New England University College was granted its autonomy as the University of New England in 1954. In 1959 D. H. Drummond, a leading local politician, minister for education in the 1930s, and one of the key figures in the establishment of the University College, wrote a book about it. Drummond told the story of the founding of the University College from the first deputation in 1924 to the early 1940s. The tone of the book was set by the Preface where he talked of rallying to the cause, the role of leaders, loyalty being sustained, making a resolute stand, grasping the opportunity, and the achievement of victory. To Drummond there was a clear objective, a struggle like a military battle, and a final victory. The Foreword to the work noted this tone. It was written by R. S. Wallace, who was, in the critical years, vice chancellor of Sydney University. He wrote that what stood out in Drummond's narrative was the determination and staying power of the people of New England.[1]

This article proposes not to retell Drummond's story or to argue with his interpretation but to ask three questions about the establishment of a university college in a small country town in 1938. First, why would any Australians in the 1920s seek to establish a new university? Second, why did Armidale see itself as a suitable site for a university? Finally, if there was a battle to establish a university college, how were the two main opponents, the government and Sydney University, overcome?

One way to approach the question of why Australians would be thinking of establishing a new university in the 1920s is to consider whether such a move could have been made in 1900 or 1910. To have considered a new university in 1900 in Australia would have been very radical except in those states which did not have one. Universities were socially and culturally aloof institutions, the concern of only a small social elite. Each state needed to have one to preserve its sense of self-importance and provide a few locally trained professional men. A second university for New South Wales was virtually unthinkable in 1900 but much less so in 1910 and quite understandable in 1920. There were, then, rapid changes in educational thinking in the first twenty years of this century.

Australia shared with Britain, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and some other parts of the world, a major change in public attitudes and policies towards universities, a change which became apparent between about 1900 and the outbreak of war in 1914. In these years there was obviously a rise in the numbers of students attending universities, new building programmes and new universities. For example, there were seven newly independent universities created in Britain between 1900 and 1910. All had begun some years earlier as colleges, but achieved independence in this period — an indication of public and government encouragement matched by major gifts from wealthy industrialists.[2] The same decade saw the creation of many new institutions of higher education in Canada as university enrolment almost doubled.[3] In the United States the differently conceived universities had expanded their enrolments in earlier decades, although the number of students in publicly controlled higher education grew by 84 percent in the decade.[4]

In Australia the last two states to establish universities — Queensland and Western Australia — did so in 1911 and 1913 respectively,[5] but even more significant were increasing enrolments in established universities: Sydney had 583 students in 1900 and 1,342 in 1910.[6] These additional students were, in part, the result of efforts made in public education in the second half of the nineteenth century to provide opportunities for elementary schooling for the whole population involving government help to churches and direct government intervention. Although most children gained only a basic literacy from these efforts, an increasing number of children from moderately well off and even poor families accepted all that schools could offer and qualified to enter universities.

The economic growth and increasing economic complexity of advanced countries created a demand for higher skills and more university-trained engineers and scientists, as well as for recruits to the older professions of medicine and law. One writer has described this period in Australian university history as being characterised by the emergence of a "new middle class" demanding university places for their sons and, occasionally, daughters.[7] Another, commenting on Oxford, wrote of "the growth of the commercial, industrial, and professional middle class."[8] Clearly one should be careful in dealing with such a difficult concept as class, but we do not have to see a new class emerging to explain the pressure for university admission. There were new economic and social demands placed on universities as well as growing numbers in some occupational groups, but there was not a new class. Rather, there was pressure from people newly conscious of the existing class structure of society to make universities sensitive to the needs of laborers. Beginning about 1900 in Britain and Australia, social reformers who were often class conscious labor politicians urged universities to open their doors to the children of workers, and "revise their role in society so that they might in the future serve the masses as effectively as in the past they had served the classes."[9] This class approach to educational questions was heard in Armidale in 1922 when a local man wrote to the town's newspaper defending the new state high schools against criticism by a leading conservative. The letter asked whether criticism had arisen "because the sons of the poorer classes are producing too many boys of exceptional talent to successfully compete with those of the wealthier classes for favoured positions?"[10]

More qualified students, a greater social need for higher education, and a democratic spirit were, then, all influential in changing universities, but there was another more powerful force: the attempt to fit universities into a *system* of education and thereby to make them recognize the close links they had with the secondary schools. According to G. S. Beeby, the recently appointed minister of public instruction in the McGowen (State) Labor Government, "one of the worst features of our whole educational system is the isolation and exclusiveness of the university, the want of correlation between it and our secondary schools."[11] Many in the universities supported this correlation so that the standard of university teaching could be raised.[12] In addition, in a properly integrated system of education the universities could supply a greater number of graduate teachers for the expanding secondary schools, especially the high schools. As part of a unified system the universities could accept more students preparing to become teachers by taking degrees in arts and science, and then the one-year, postgraduate Diploma in Education. Some idea of the size of this need can be seen from the number of teachers employed in the state high schools of New South Wales. In 1910 there were only 48, by 1920 there were 584 and by 1930, 1,288.[13]

One consequence of the incorporation of universities into education systems was that the universities in Australia and overseas became more professional and practical in their orientation. By 1900 the arts and pure sciences within Australian universities were already overwhelmed by the demands of medicine, law and engineering.[14] Increasingly after 1910 the arts and science faculties admitted students with a strictly professional end in view — teaching. Often their courses were prescribed for them by the needs of their employer, the department of education, which also held many of them on bonds. This happened in Australia generally, as well as in Britain between 1911 and the end of World War II.[15] But, whether or not this trend was lamentable, there were many in Britain and Australia who hailed a new era.

For example, when Lord Haldane was installed as chancellor of Bristol University in 1912, he addressed the citizens of Bristol on the opportunities afforded to clever boys and girls by the 1902 Education Act. He regretted that there were still too few chances for attending universities and wanted to break down "the class barrier" by admitting the able youth of eighteen. Oxford and Cambridge, said Haldane, were not really accessible to the "child of the people," but the citizens of Bristol had a chance "to make it possible for the son or daughter of every poor man in this city, be he high or low, to attain this splendid advantage in life."[16]

These remarks were applauded in New South Wales by the minister of education, A. C. Carmichael,[17] who was trying to steer through parliament amendments to the University Act to complement the major changes made in the high schools in 1911. New courses, new schools, abolition of fees and new bursaries were part of a system of educational opportunities which included the university. The University of Sydney showed its willingness to go at least part of the way in these reforms by introducing the Diploma in Education in 1911. Speaking in November 1912, Carmichael summed up the new system:

> In a word, the new arrangement works out that the child of a parent attending the smallest out-back school will, if he shows the ability be able to pass from that school free of all cost to the high school, and from there again free of all cost to the university, thus gaining all the advantages of the highest education.[18]

Carmichael was describing the dream of those reformers who believed in equality of opportunity. The dream was referred to by the president of the London Teachers' Association who wanted to ensure "for all the fit and capable a broad highway from the elementary school to the university."[19] This broad highway had its Australian equivalent as a bush track, seen in a drawing which appeared on the title page of the New South Wales Teachers'

Federation journal, *Education*, from its first issue in November 1919 until 1921. It showed some barefooted children and others on horseback approaching the bush school, from which led a narrow track to the high school and further to the university and the world beyond.[20]

This complex set of educational changes was, then, started in New South Wales in 1911 and 1912 and was barely in stride when war came. World War I did not interfere with the structures but did slow down the rate at which the new high schools could be built and professionals trained to teach in them. Armidale, for example, campaigned vigorously for a high school in 1912 and 1913 against the claims of Tamworth, a rival centre sixty miles away. A promise was made in February 1914 that high school classes would commence the following year[21] but the war stopped all progress on this and in 1919 there were further displays of jealousy when Tamworth had its high school before Armidale.[22]

The answer to the first question should now be clear. After the war there were Australians who wanted greater access to universities because they had come to see universities not as remote institutions for the privileged, but as the pinnacle of a democratic educational system designed to serve a democratic society. The movement for more accessible universities was well under way before the war, particularly in New South Wales and Victoria, but seemed an even more urgent task after it.

We now turn to the second question — why Armidale saw itself as a suitable site for a university. Part of the answer derives from the general view Australians had of universities in the 1920s. Universities were part of a state-dominated system of education. It therefore seemed natural that Armidale, which had a strongly-developed educational base with primary and secondary schools, should complete its system by adding a university. Armidale never tired of telling itself and the rest of the world that it was an educational centre, a "city of schools," and "the great scholastic centre of the north."[23] As early as 1892 the idea for a university had been associated with the town. In that year the parliamentary standing committee on public works took evidence in Armidale about the town's need for a water supply. The mayor argued that Armidale's schools as well as its mining industry attracted people to live there: "Armidale has become known as a place for education," he said, "and we think this new school will induce population to settle here and educate their families." A member of the committee then asked, "It will become a sort of modern Athens, I suppose?" The mayor replied, "A University of Oxford, perhaps."[24]

Armidale had a larger number of schools and pupils than similar towns and attracted pupils from many parts of New South Wales and

Queensland. This was probably because of the late nineteenth century belief that a cool, refreshing, and bracing climate was an important ancillary to decent schooling.[25] Armidale's schools had extolled the virtue of climate since the 1880s. The "well-known salubrity" of Armidale's climate, was one important factor in the protracted debate over the establishment of an exclusive church of England school, and helped Armidale finally to succeed against the claims of Blandford and Morpeth in the warmer and moister Hunter Valley.[26] When attitudes towards Australian climate began to change early in the twentieth century, Armidale dropped the references to climate and spoke of its position as an established educational centre. It was on this basis that Armidale bid for a new technical college and a special agricultural high school in 1922 when such institutions were being discussed.[27]

It is, then, rather surprising that the talk about a northern university in the 1920s did not begin in the familiar context of Armidale's being a recognized educational centre. The idea first seemed to float through the north as part of that extraordinary movement which was very strong in the early 1920s: the New State Movement.[28] In the 1920 publication *Australia Subdivided* (later called the New State "Bible"), a section compared the educational provisions of northern New South Wales with similar areas in the United States. It found that while northern New South Wales had no university, Iowa had 4, Illinois 13, and Kansas 6.[29] The first issue of the short-lived *New State Magazine* included the only attempt the movement made to express its view on universities. The article written by a Coffs Harbour man suggested the foundation of four or five university colleges affiliated with each other but placed on the coast, the tablelands, and the west.[30] Other New State publicity referred to the need for a university in the northern state but put forward no detailed plans. Although the New State Movement apparently never endorsed Armidale's claim for a university, the delegates to the second New State Convention, held in Armidale in 1923, were left in no doubt about the matter. In a civic welcome to the delegates the mayor stressed, as the *Armidale Express* said, "its progress as an educational centre of very considerable merit. 'Armidale is even aspiring to a University,' added the mayor. 'In fact, I could well say we have several embryo universities here already.'"[31]

This declaration by the mayor shows how quickly Armidale formulated the idea of having its own university. Armidale's political leaders first read about the general idea of a northern university in 1920, but there was no specific reference to Armidale's own interest in the matter until another country town, Bathurst, launched its own campaign in July 1922.

The news of Bathurst's agitation was greeted by an editorial in the *Armidale Express* which played on all the strings likely to touch civic leaders: pride in the "scholastic center," regret that the flesh was weak though the spirit was willing, fear that Bathurst would gain the prize, and a final appeal to the public spirited to launch a campaign.[32] This editorial, although written in the midst of the New State Movement, gave no hint of any motive other than Armidale's special claims. The mayor's welcoming remarks to the New State delegates in 1923 had the same parochial flavor, as did the Armidale University College Establishment Committee, a group of citizens who met with the minister for education in 1924.[33] In contrast, the next major public deputation held in 1928 on the opening of a teachers' college, stressed that a university in Armidale would advance the educational interests of all northern New South Wales and would be welcomed by the whole region.[34]

The shift in emphasis from a narrow concern to the interests of a whole region had great significance. It is probable that this wider appeal with the extra support it brought, and the avoidance of petty local-town pleading, were critical influences in maintaining Armidale's campaign during the following years. It is difficult to imagine Drummond, the local member, lending his support so tirelessly, or the Sydney politicians eventually conceding, if the campaign had remained so parochial. There were, of course, difficulties in convincing people in the north that they should submerge their strong and traditional local loyalties in the interests of obtaining a university located in Armidale. It was also a major problem to uphold a sense of regional loyalty in the depressed years of the 1930s while the campaign continued, and it has remained a problem for the university since 1938 to maintain its regional mission, while being situated in Armidale and owing general obligations to the national and international community of scholars.

The coming of Australia's first country-based teachers' college in 1928 in no way, then, diminished Armidale's interest in a university. In fact, it seems to have rekindled a flame which had almost gone out. For two years the state had been governed by a Labour government which while helpful to state education in general, and high schools in particular, was unlikely to favor a rural electorate like New England. Within weeks of entering office, the local member and new minister for education, David Drummond, had placed in the town the state's second teachers' college, and the first outside Sydney. This confirmed Armidale's belief in its educational significance and encouraged hope that Drummond might be able to help it land the big fish, a university.

The third question asked how Armidale's main opponents were overcome. Drummond's book stressed the continuing struggle but, never clearly identified enemies or adversaries suggesting perhaps that the only real opponent was the normal inertia of large institutions. Yet it is possible to go a little further than this and to see that the government and Sydney University had to be won over.

The governments of New South Wales in the 1920s and '30s had different political labels but shared many characteristics concerning education. While it was a low-priority matter for all parties, much of the state's funds were spent on education. The major reforms of the decade prior to the war were accepted by all but the most reactionary politicians, but further legislative involvement was resisted. Administrators were left to run the system and to make modifications to cope with changes brought about by time. Funds were cut whenever money had to be saved and parliamentary debates on education were rare. Government reflected the attitudes of most citizens; they believed they had a good educational system, but would not ask what a "good" system was. Most people and most governments cared little about education. There were, however, a few exceptions: Albert Bruntnell, a Nationalist minister, who tried to reverse the trend towards state high schools; Thomas Mutch, a Labour minister, who fell victim to party faction fighting; and David Drummond of the Country Party. Drummond provides part of the answer to one question, because it was his energy, idealism, and good luck which helped Armidale's campaign for a university to overcome governmental indifference to education.

Drummond truly cared about education, especially the idea of equality of opportunity. His own very difficult childhood and school days[35] were clearly in mind during his tenure as minister for education, and he was especially conscious of the need to provide country children with some of the educational opportunities then concentrated in Sydney. Drummond had the good luck to hold the education portfolio in the years after the worst of the Depression and before the war when there was a brief, albeit false, dawn of educational enlightenment in Australia.[36] The campaign for a New England university college in Armidale would have had little chance if there had been a Labour government in the 1930s, as faction fighting brought city trade unionists to the fore and weakened the influence of the rural wing of New South Wales Labour. Drummond was lucky, too, that the conservative city interests who supported his government were largely indifferent to his educational activities. After attempting to reintroduce high school fees in 1932, they seem to have let Drummond do much as he liked with his portfolio.

Drummond kept pressing the key men in the cabinet: the premier, Bertram Stevens, and the Country Party leader, Michael Bruxner. The outline of this process can be seen in Drummond's book, and is especially clear in his account of a critical meeting on 7 April 1937. At this stage the University had agreed in principle to establish a college in Armidale and the local campaign for funds had been boosted by Thomas Richmond Forster's offer to donate a large home, Booloominbah, which could accommodate the staff and students of the first few years. The government had not, however, committed itself to spend money enough to cover all the extra costs which Sydney University would incur. At the 7 April meeting, after all the problems had been discussed, the premier suggested an interim compromise scheme. Forster vigorously rejected this. According to Drummond, the following event then occurred:

> The Premier thought a while and then said, "Very well, gentlemen, if the people of the north raise not less than £10,000 by 30th June 1937, I will engage, subject to the concurrence of Cabinet, to give the proposal full support and to arrange for the passage of the necessary legislation. If the north fails to raise the £10,000 by 30th June the business is ended."
>
> Then he turned to me and said: "Mr. Drummond, will you write to Mr. Forster a letter to that effect?"
>
> "No, Mr. Premier," I replied, "if I write the letter it binds only me, but if you write the letter it binds the Government."
>
> He laughed and said, "Well, you draft the letter and I will sign it."[37]

The final exchange showed a wary Drummond anxious to block any escape route, but more important was Premier Stevens' promise, made under great pressure. We must also notice that the promise contained a bluff: there were only about ten weeks to 30 June, and as Drummond noted it had taken four years to raise £5,000 and the funds seemed to have dried up. Drummond probably realized he had pushed the premier as far as he possibly could, and Stevens had neatly fended off the pressure from the north by getting Drummond's supporters to accept the 30 June deadline, which they would probably be unable to meet. Drummond now had no choice but to call the bluff by raising the £10,000 in the given time. A large part of the answer to the question of overcoming the government lies in the way in which the bluff was called, the way in which a few hundred people raised a great deal of money very quickly. The details need not concern us, but they reflect something of the strong regional loyalty which existed in northern New South Wales, especially among wealthy people.

Finally, we must consider how the University of Sydney was persuaded to establish a university college in a country town. Drummond mentioned the opposition, even hostility, from Sydney University.[38] He discussed it in general terms but said very firmly that the opposition arose principally from the financial difficulties forced on Sydney University by successive governments. Armidale's adversaries believed that establishing a university college would mean that much less money for Sydney, but it was overcome in the easiest possible way: more money was given to Sydney University, enough to silence the financial opponents. We lack important details but the main outlines are clear. Sydney University's recurrent funds, those paying salaries and normal operating costs, were under great pressure by the late 1930s. Enrolments had grown enormously since the war, especially in high cost areas such as veterinary science, engineering, and chemistry; but government aid had fallen considerably since the early 1920s. Budget cuts in the second half of the 1920s seem to have been even more severe than the 28 per cent cut suffered during the Depression.[39]

In 1936 and early 1937, as economic recovery became apparent, the University mounted strong pressure for a significant increase in its annual statutory grant, requesting an increase from £35,000 to £100,000. Drummond supported this request but added to it his own hobby horse, the proposed New England University College, which he said should be funded from the £100,000 grant.[40] At the time of this submission, 17 March 1937, three weeks before the important meeting with the premier, Drummond proposed one of the compromise plans for the college: that it act initially as an overflow institution for first year students only. When the premier made his offer on 7 April, the compromise had disappeared and he undertook to cover any additional expenses Sydney University met in establishing the college. Because the bluff was called — the £10,000 was raised by 30 June — Sydney University came out of the deal very well. The amendments to the University Act not only enabled the university to establish a college and to accept the gift of the house, but increased the annual grant to £100,000 and made it clear that the state treasurer would meet the extra costs in running a college.[41] The establishment of the New England University College was part of an arrangement between the government and Sydney University, one in which the University could lose neither money nor what it perhaps valued even more, its reputation and academic control.

It is this matter of the academic issues in the proposed university college with which the final section of this article is concerned. To trace this aspect of the story we must go back to Bathurst's proposals for a country college or university in 1922 and 1923. One of the Bathurst proposals was for a university college with faculties of arts, law, science, economics, agriculture, medicine and engineering. The college would conduct all the teaching but examinations would be supervised by Sydney University which would also award the degrees. Bathurst drew a comparison with New Zealand where at this time the colleges in various cities taught for degrees awarded by the University of New Zealand, which existed only as a legal entity without students or staff. Other ideas put forward at this time included correspondence courses using local teachers as tutors, and visiting tutors.[42]

These proposals were considered carefully in Sydney. A deputation from Bathurst met with a committee of the university senate and a professorial board wrote an extensive report, as did the faculty of arts.[43] Although financial considerations were mentioned, the major concerns within the University were academic. Sydney was firmly opposed to granting degrees on the basis of external study or correspondence in lieu of direct teaching and experiencing academic life. The chancellor, in 1922, referred to residential study as a "traditional policy."[44] The faculty of arts added that there was no need for another university to offer degrees by examination only, by correspondence, or by external tuition as these options were available from the University of Melbourne, the University of Queensland, and London University.[45]

This portion of the Bathurst proposal was so soundly rejected that it may explain why it never became part of Armidale's proposals in the 1920s and 1930s. Sydney University strove to be an outpost of Oxbridge standards and resisted attempts to make it more responsive to community needs or accessible to a widely dispersed population. The examples set by London University, and in even more spectacular ways by the University of Wisconsin, were rejected by Sydney. Once the New England University College became a reality, however, it provided a focus for public interest in such wider conceptions of a university and vigorously pursued extension programmes and eagerly embraced Australia's most ambitious scheme for external study when it became an autonomous university in 1955.

Sydney University's response to Bathurst in 1923 was not wholly negative. The senate recorded its belief that more universities or university colleges would be needed "at no distant future"[46] and the chancellor expressed the hope and conviction that education would be less centralized.[47] The university spelled out its preconditions for a new institution. First, a new university must not threaten Sydney's teaching and research functions. Second, a new university or university college should begin with a nucleus of full-time academic and administrative staff chosen in the same way as Sydney's, paid the equivalent salaries, and supported by proper supplies of books, equipment and apparatus. Third, a much larger enrolment than twenty or thirty students was required.[48]

Sydney's response to Bathurst also included some arguments which perhaps were not passed on. It was noted that Melbourne University had recently rejected a request for a college from Ballarat whose population was 40,000. In Victoria there were also the cities of Bendigo and Geelong whose populations of 35,000 were not far behind. In New South Wales, then, how could Bathurst's request be taken seriously (it had about 10,000 people) when Goulburn and Newcastle were both larger. The faculty of arts suggested that it would be cheaper and more effective for Bathurst to raise money to establish a Bathurst College or Hostel in the grounds of Sydney University — "as it were, a bit of Bathurst in Sydney."[49]

A Bathurst deputation was doubtless annoyed to hear the chancellor reject one of their favoured notions that there were few temptations for young people in a small town. The chancellor replied that part of growing up was to learn to face the dangers and temptations of the city. He went on to compare the libraries and other stimulations existing in Sydney with the opportunities in a country town and wondered whether there were "any means whereby to stimulate the intellectual life in the larger country town."[50]

Sydney University's response was completely reasonable. It laid down important conditions for a new university or university college and thus placed the responsibility squarely on the government to put up the necessary funds. Bathurst did not see it this way, and there were loud cries of protest including a big public meeting.[51] The spokesman for the Bathurst committee clearly believed that the university could afford to send lecturers to conduct courses for local people in Armidale, Bathurst, Goulburn and Maitland.[52] The Teachers' Federation also believed that country residents should be able to get degrees without attending the university.[53]

Just before Christmas, 1923, a deputation of leading citizens from Bathurst, Goulburn, and Lithgow and a representative of the Teachers' Federation met with the minister for education. The minister told the group that he had recently been in "a large town in the northern part of New South Wales," presumably Armidale, which wanted a university of its own, not correspondence or college facilities from Sydney.[54] Armidale's voice had been heard, although at this stage no formal committee existed nor had any official approach been made.

The minister responded to this pressure in 1924 by asking Sydney University for its views on extending university education to country centres.[55] Similar to its 1923 response to Bathurst, the University now advised the minister that, if financially practicable, the best way to extend university education to the country centres was to establish colleges at Sydney University to provide free residence for country students, to establish new universities at a few important country centres, and to increase the size of the arts faculty staff to enable lectures to be given at one or two important country centres. Significantly, the senate said nothing about university colleges, a subject on which it was now divided but remained opposed to becoming merely an examining body.[56] The minister wrote straight back asking for direct consideration of correspondence courses or non-attendance at lectures for New South Wales country people.[57] The senate responded immediately by a vote of 20 to 1 that Sydney University "should remain a teaching university and should not confer degrees on examinations alone."[58] It is interesting to note that all this had happened before Armidale officially began to campaign.

Next, the government agreed to an earlier University offer and in 1925 special funds were made available for arts lecturers to give a series of lectures in some country towns on a trial basis.[59] Lectures in some first year courses were given in 1925 and 1926 in Armidale, Bathurst and Goulburn, but the response in Armidale was so poor that it was suggested in 1925 that the project be dropped for 1926.[60] In 1926 Armidale had only one matriculated and two unmatriculated students in attendance. Goulburn had the best turn out: four matriculants and five unmatriculated students.[61]

So ended the first phase in the struggle for a country university. Armidale had not been prominent in the campaign and in fact seemed the least interested of the New South Wales country towns. Sydney University's position was clear and difficult to disagree with. Success would depend upon the government's role and money. It is dignificant that when the opening of Armidale's teachers' college was taken as an opportunity to raise again the idea of a university in Armidale, Minister David Drummond introduced an entirely new note about finance — people in the north would have to convince the government by raising substantial money to endow a university.[62]

In the second phase of the campaign (1934 to 1937) the need for northern people to show their commitment with cash was paramount, and the evidence finally was Forster's gift and £10,000. In this period the academic issues had also narrowed. No longer was there any talk of correspondence or examinations without attendance at lectures, but at least one formidable figure at Sydney University raised some of the questions asked about Bathurst's requests in the early 1920s. Mungo MacCallum, the deputy chancellor, stated his view that there was insufficient demand among students to warrant the creation of a university college. He argued that Armidale in particular was one of the towns least interested in tutorial classes or extension lectures in arts subjects. MacCallum asked whether people in the region would attend a college in Armidale rather than living in Sydney "with its greater provision for teaching and study." He also saw academic difficulties and no financial gain in using staff at the teachers' college to conduct university classes.[63] It is likely that no attempt was ever made to counter the argument about student numbers. The New England people were confident students would emerge, but there were very few a number of years after the college began.

Sydney's reaction to the key academic details in the 1934 proposal from New England was very similar to its 1924 response. It was determined that academic standards for students' admission, lecturers' qualifications, teaching facilities, and examinations would be the same for any university college with which it was connected. These principles were embodied in the senate's major resolution on the matter, 14 October 1935, when it listed seven conditions for the approval of a college at Armidale. These conditions were a response to the detailed proposals submitted by the New England committee and were at several points in direct opposition to the New England ideas. The central conflict was that while the New England committee said flatly that the local university council would govern the new college and appoint staff in consultation with Sydney, the senate insisted that it must appoint staff (after consulting the local body) and retain an overriding policy control. Two other significant conditions were laid down by the senate: buildings, equipment and laboratories would have to be adequate for university education and the "number, qualifications, remuneration and conditions of service of the staff" must be in accordance with those normal for a university.[64]

Once the senate listed these conditions, the matter of establishing a university college in Armidale was left almost wholly to the vice-chancellor, Professor Robert Wallace. The professorial board was not asked to comment or give advice, nor was any faculty. The senate was briefed through 1936 and 1937 of major developments including Forster's offer of Booloominbah and the government's promise of greatly increased funds, but it was only after parliament amended the University Act to enable it to establish a college that the senate was asked to do anything.[65] On 20 December

1937 it resolved to establish a university college at Armidale and to accept the offer of the large house. The final resolution of the day was that the vice chancellor and chairman of the professorial board "should be empowered to make all arrangements in connection with the staffing, etc., necessary to ensure, as far as practicable, the opening of the College in March 1938."[66] These two men made all the arrangements, consulting very few others. Dr. Edgar H. Booth was named warden; and the first five lecturers, each to teach two subjects, were appointed rapidly. The college opened in March with a handful of students.

The answer to this part of the third question should now be clear. The university was persuaded to establish a college by large amounts of money and, on the academic side, by a very astute vice chancellor who told the University little about what was going on.

Robert Wallace emerges as a key figure in the story. In October 1935 he obtained a statement of policy and conditions from an unenthusiastic senate which contained some very critical members. He then gave the senate no further chance to halt matters and made sure that the professorial board and the faculties were discouraged from asking questions or creating trouble. Wallace had obviously decided that Armidale should get its college as long as the government paid for it and also increased Sydney's funds. He knew his university well enough to realize that success required action and discretion. Universities have great skill in delaying things and a talent for asking questions that men of action are sometimes embarrassed to answer. In this case it is difficult to see how Wallace could have defended his actions in respect to two areas where the 1935 senate conditions seemed to have been ignored: the requirement of adequate library, laboratory and other facilities; and the academic demands placed on the staff as there was no parallel at Sydney University for the five lecturers each teaching two subjects. Wallace clearly saw the advantages to be gained by supporting the pet project of a strong minister for education, but it is also likely that he shared Drummond's Scottish-style belief that a university, while not weakening its high standards and ideals, should take positive steps to make itself available to young men and women of talent, no matter whether they were poor or lived far from the city. Drummond was proud of his Scots ancestry and helped continue the Scottish influence in Australian education; Wallace who retained a Scottish accent was happy to support him in an educational environment which often seemed likely to revert to more elitist ways. The two men also had some Scotsmen's luck: the 1938 achievement was timely because the social and political changes unleashed by war the following year would have prevented their success, perhaps in any future time.

The establishment of the New England University College, then, grew directly from the far-reaching educational reforms of the first two decades of this century, especially the creation of an educational system designed to provide a measure of equal opportunity, to expand secondary education and to democratize universities. It owed its location to the extraordinary sense of regional identity which re-emerged in northern New South Wales after World War I and managed to sustain itself into the 1930s, by which time the campaign for the university college was almost all that was left of a grander economic and political revolution. The leading proponents were male and Protestant; they were among the leading graziers, businessmen and professionals in the north; they were from the same groups and often were the same people who dominated the Country Party in state and federal politics, and the New State Movement. Their educational ideas were quite conservative, but they wanted for their region the status, leadership and expertise which a university could bring. Few of them had attended university, and they wanted their sons and daughters to have a better chance than they had had. There was no mass movement of support for the university college, although the ideal of greater educational opportunity was widely supported especially among the region's clerical workers, businessmen, small farmers and tradesmen. But even these people relied on scholarships to help their children enter university. Most of the students who attended New England University College came from the north of the state and were assisted by teacher education scholarships. And when external study became available in 1955, the students who seized the opportunity were for many years predominately school teachers seeking to improve their qualifications. The rise of secondary education played a major role in the origins of the university college and the composition of its student body for several decades.

NOTES

1. D. H. Drummond, *A University Is Born: The Story of the Founding of the University College of New England* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1959), pp. v-viii.

2. Jack Simmons, *New University* (Leicester, England: Leicester University Press, 1959), pp. 208-209; H. C. Dent, *Universities in Transition* (London: Cohen & West, 1961), pp. 63-64.

3. Robin S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto: Uni-

versity of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 212-13. Enrolments in 1901-2 were 6,540 and in 1911-12 they were 12,815 (Ibid., pp. 627-29).

4. Seymour E. Harris, *A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1972), p. 926. Enrolments in publicly controlled higher education in 1899/1900 were 90, 689 and in 1909/10 they were 166,560. Total enrolment rose by 50 percent: from 237, 592 to 355, 215. Ibid., p. 926.

5. Harrison Bryan, "The Establishment of the University of Queensland," *Historical Society of Queensland Journal* 4 (December 1952): 637-61; and Fred Alexander, *Campus at Crawley: A Narrative and Critical Appreciation of the First Fifty Years of the University of Western Australia* (Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1963).

6. *New South Wales Statistical Register*, various years.

7. Alan Barcan, *A Short History of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney: Martindale, 1965), p. 234.

8. Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1910," in Lawrence Stone, ed., *The University in Society*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), 1:65.

9. For example, see the remark of King O'Malley in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 August 1910, (hereafter cited as *SMH*).

10. *Armidale Express*, 7 March 1922, p. 8, (hereafter cited as *AE*).

11. *SMH*, 4 November 1910.

12. See comments in the *Summary of the Report of the Commissioners, Mainly on Secondary Education*, 1904, quoted in Barcan, *Education in New South Wales*, p. 221.

13. Annual Reports of the Minister of Education.

14. J. J. Auchmuty, "The Idea of the University in its Australian Setting," *Australian University* 1 (September 1963): 154-55; and Geoffrey Blainey *A Centenary History of the University of Melbourne* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957), pp. 126-35.

15. Dent, *Universities*, p. 66.

16. *Times* (London), 18 October 1912, pp. 7-8.

17. *SMH*, 25 November 1912.

18. *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 11 November 1912 (hereafter cited as *DT*).

19. *Times* (London), 21 October 1912, p. 11.

20. Bruce Mitchell, *Teachers, Education and Politics: A History of Organizations of Public School Teachers in New South Wales* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1975), p. 61.

21. *AE*, 5, 12 and 15 November, 6 and 10 December 1912, 10 January 1913 (for the campaign), 21 November 1913, 10 February 1914 (for the promises).

22. *AE*, 25 and 28 February , 4 March 1919.

23. *AE*, 12 November 1912.

24. Minutes of Evidence, proposed water supply for Armidale, 19 October 1892, p. 5. The reference to a new school was to the New England Proprietary School, later The Armidale School.

25. This explanation conflicts with that of W. G. Walker who argued that the initiatives of the major churches created Armidale's educational emphasis. See "The Contribution of the Churches to the Development of Armidale as an Educational Centre," *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal* 54, pt. 2 (June 1968): 152-60.

26. Findings of Master in Equity, 19 October 1888, Minutes of the Trustees, Blandford Proprietary School, University of Newcastle Archives.

27. *AE*, 9 May, 29 September, 13 October, 28 November 1922.

28. Grant Harman, "New State Agitation in Northern New South Wales, 1920-1929," *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal* 63, pt. 1 (June 1977): 26-39.

29. *Australia Sub-divided*, (Glen Innes, New South Wales, 1920), p. 30.

30. *New State Magazine* 1 (July 1921): 11.

31. *AE*, 8 June 1923, p. 3.

32. *AE*, 21 July 1922, p. 4.

33. Drummond, *A University is Born*, p. 5.

34. V. C. Thompson's case, ibid., p. 7.

35. James Belshaw, "David Henry Drummond 1890-1930: The Formative Years," *Armidale and District Historical Society Journal* 22 (1979): 22-24.

36. Mitchell, *Teachers, Education and Politics*, pp. 133-34.

37. Drummond, *A University is Born*, p. 34.

38. Ibid., p. 102.

39. Cabinet minute from Drummond, 17 March 1937, ibid., pp. 105-7.

40. Ibid.

41. Pt. 7, par. 45 of the *University Act*. See ibid., pp. 111-12.

42. Senate Minutes, 9 October 1922, Sidney University Archives, (hereafter cited as SM).

43. Ibid., 9 April 1923.

44. Ibid., 11 December 1922.

45. Ibid., 9 April 1923.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 11 December 1922.

48. Ibid., 9 April 1923.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., 11 December 1922.

51. SMH, 28 August 1923.

52. *DT*, 19 December 1923.

53. Ibid., 19 December 1923.

54. *SMH*, 20 December 1923.

55. SM, 3 March 1924.

56. Ibid., 19 May 1924.

57. Ibid., 16 June 1924.

58. Ibid., 30 June 1924.

59. Ibid., 13 October 1924.

60. Ibid., 7 September 1925.

61. Senate Report, 1926, Sydney University Archives, 3090/3091.

62. Drummond, *A University is Born*, pp. 7-8.

63. Memorandum by MacCallum, 6 September 1934, Sydney University Archives, 3090/3091.

64. Committee to Drummond, 18 July 1934; Minutes of a deputation, 11 August 1934; Committee of Senate, 20 June 1935; Sydney University Archives, 3090/3091, S.M., 14 October 1935.

65. For example, SM, 2 March 1936.

66. Ibid., 20 December 1937.

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From Tutor to Specialized Scholar: Academic Professionalization in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America

Martin Finkelstein

DURING THE PAST DECADE and one-half, historians have taken the first steps toward development of an evolutionary "academetrics" of the American professoriate. In the 1960s, two quantitatively oriented studies of college teachers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were published. In 1966, Wilson Smith examined the transformation of the tutorship at pre-revolutionary Harvard.[1] Two years later, William Carrell analyzed the career patterns of 124 professors at nineteen colleges in the second half of the eighteenth century.[2] Together, these analyses suggested that by the turn of the nineteenth century the academic role was emerging as an increasingly viable and distinctive career alternative to the practice of the traditional professions.

The years since have seen the publication of three quantitatively oriented case studies of the evolution of academic faculties during the nineteenth century at three quite different institutions: McCaughey on Harvard, Tobias on Dartmouth, and Creutz on the University of Michigan.[3] While these studies vary considerably in their temporal parameters and the breadth of their analyses[4] and while they hardly focus on what may be considered representative cases,[5] their results collectively require some qualification of earlier interpretations that had located the emergence of the modern, professional collegiate-based scholar in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and wedded his emergence to that of the American graduate university. Specifically, they suggested that (1) the professionalization of the academic role (i.e., the development of a specialized, secular scholarly vocation within the institutional context of the American college) was a gradual process that was already well underway in the ante-bellum period and (2) that professionalization proceeded quite unevenly across institutions, beginning quite early at Harvard and much later at Dartmouth, although the fundamental process in each case seemed to be of a single piece.

In light of this preliminary, albeit pioneering work, the present essay will serve two broad functions. First, it seeks to bring together developments related to two stages of professionalization: the development of academic employment as a distinctive, long term career path beginning in the eighteenth century and the subsequent development of career college teachers into career scholar-specialists a century later. In so doing, it seeks also to fill the gap concerning developments in the first quarter of the nineteenth century which have heretofore been largely ignored.[6] Second, it will supplement published analyses of Harvard, Dartmouth, and Michigan with original analyses of three additional institutions for whom data was readily available (Bowdoin, Brown and Yale) and with the less systematic data to be gleaned from secondary sources in an effort to provide a fuller, if still preliminary, map of the evolving contours of academic professionalization from the revolutionary era through the emergence of the American university.[7]

If more ambitious than previous studies in its temporal and sampling breadth, this essay is more modest in several respects. It seeks neither to provide the definitive word on developments at individual institutions nor to provide a broad cultural or sociological interpretation of the course of academic professionalization in nineteenth century America.[8] Finally, as a preliminary analysis, it cannot provide definitive historical generalizations which would require a more systematically representative sampling of institutions of more diverse orientations outside the Northeast.

In organizing the narrative map that follows, we have been guided by Donald Light's conceptualization of the three analytically distinct, yet interrelated, strands of the modern academic career.[9] The disciplinary strand includes those events specifically connected with a discipline and its goals rather than with a particular job (e.g., specialized training, work history prior to assumption of an academic career, involvements with disciplinary organizations, and research activity). The institutional career includes those events associated with a faculty member's role at a particular institution (e.g., the promotion system). Finally, the external career includes those work-related activities undertaken outside the institution but rooted in a faculty member's disciplinary expertise (e.g., consulting, government service, and public lecturing). On this basis, it serves to examine the evolutionary unfolding of these three career strands over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Emergence of an Institutional Career, 1750-1800

During the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, the disciplinary career strand was, of course, virtually non-existant, and even the institutional strand proved secondary to the external one. American colleges operated on a model not unlike the British universities after the Elizabethan Statutes of the late sixteenth century.[10] Assuming that any bright graduate was ready to teach all subjects leading to the degree, instructional staffs were composed entirely of *tutors*, young men (often no more than twenty) who had just received their baccalaureate degree and who were preparing for careers in the ministry. The responsibilities of tutors were both pedagogical and pastoral or custodial in nature. Ideally, a single tutor was assigned the sheparding of a single class through all four years of their baccalaureate program, both inside and outside the classroom. "Tutors were with their pupils almost every hour of the day (in classroom recitations, study halls, and at meals) and slept in the same chamber with some of them at night. They were responsible not only for the intellectual, but for the moral and spiritual development of their charges."[11] In the less than ideal practice, the tutorship functioned as a "revolving door." At Harvard, prior to 1685, very seldom did a tutor see a class through all four years. Only a half dozen of the forty-one tutors during this period remained at Harvard more than three years. While the next half century saw a progressive lengthening of the tutors' tenure at Harvard, and indeed the ultimate establishment of "permanent" tutorships in the latter half of the eighteenth century,[12] the "revolving door" condition persisted through this period at Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, and Bowdoin.

It was not until the last half of the eighteenth century that the institutional career began to take shape, as a small core of "permanent" faculty, the professors, began to supplement the cadre of short-term tutors. Carrell found that in 1750 there were only ten professors in all of American higher education, the bulk of whom were either at Harvard or William and Mary. By 1795, the professorial ranks had swelled tenfold to 105 while the number of colleges had only slightly more than doubled. All in all, some 200 individuals had served as professors in nineteen American colleges during this period.[13]

How did these professorships develop? At Harvard, they came into being slowly as a result of philantropic bequests. During the 1720s, two Hollis professorships were endowed: one in divinity, occupied by Edward Wigglesworth for forty-four years; the other in mathematics and natural philosophy, occupied initially by Isaac Greenwood for eleven years, and then by John Winthrop for forty-one years. By 1750, President Holyoke was supported by three permanent faculty members, the two Hollis professors and Henry Flynt, a permanent tutor.[14] During the rest of the eighteenth century, four additional professorships were endowed, of which three were actually filled before 1800.[15] By 1800, permanent professors had achieved near parity in numbers with tutors on the Harvard faculty.

At Yale, too, the first professorship was established by a philanthropic bequest. In 1746, the Livingston Professorship of Divinity was established, and nine years later its first occupant joined President Clap and the tutors in supervising instruction. Although Yale had established only one additional professorship by 1800, it achieved near parity between permanent and transient staff two years later with the promotion of Jerimiah Day and Benjamin Silliman from their tutorships.[16]

The pattern that developed after more than a century at Harvard and a half century at Yale was adapted quickly by several of the colleges founded during the second half of the eighteenth century. At Brown, for example, within five years of its founding a core permanent faculty was emerging with Howell's promotion from tutor to professor to join forces with President Manning. By 1800, its five tutors were supplemented by three permanent professors.[17] At Princeton, by 1767, two decades after its founding, three permanent professors had joined forces with the three tutors.[18] At Dartmouth, during the administration of John Wheelock from 1779 to 1817, several professors were appointed to supplement the single professor who together with two or three tutors constituted the faculty during the preceding administration of Eleazar Wheelock.[19]

What were the characteristics of this early core permanent faculty? How did they resemble or differ from their more transient colleagues, the tutors? With regard to similarities, both professors and tutors were drawn disproportionately from the higher socioeconomic strata of colonial and postrevolutionary society; fully one quarter came from "professional" families (with fathers engaged in the ministry, law, medicine) at a time when 1-2 percent of the labor force was "professional" and 80-90 percent were engaged in agricultural pursuits.[20] Moreover, both professors and tutors undertook very similar activities as part of their college responsibilities. Both supervised recitations and dormitories and assumed overall responsibility for student discipline and moral, as well as intellectual, development. There the similarity appears to have ended. In the first place, professors did not take charge of a class for its four years at the institution; they were appointed in a particular subject area (e.g., natural philosophy, divinity, ancient languages) and were, for the most part, engaged in the supervision of instruction within that area. In the second place, professors were, on average, at least five to ten years older than the tutors. The vast majority, unlike the tutors, had had some post-baccalaureate professional training in theology, law, or medicine. Among the eight professors at Brown during the eighteenth century, for example, seven had such training, as did all ten of the professors at Harvard.[21]

The most fundamental respect, however, in which professors differed from tutors was in their "permanence." Carrell's analysis of biographical sketches of 124 professors during the second half of the eighteenth century illuminates the peculiar meaning of a "permanent" faculty appointment during this period. First, a professorship implied an "institutional" career, often at his *alma mater*. Nearly 40 percent of Carrell's sample professors did this, ranging from just over one-third at the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania) to 83 percent at Harvard. Fully 88 percent taught at only one institution during their academic career, while barely 2.5 percent taught at three or more institutions. Second, a permanent professorship remained an "unexclusive" career. In analyzing the lifetime occupational commitment of his sample, Carrell found that less than 15 percent appeared to identify themselves exclusively as "professional teachers," less than 20 percent appeared to identify themselves primarily as a professional teacher (with a secondary occupation in the ministry, medicine, or law), while over half appeared to identify themselves primarily as practitioners of one of the traditional professions and only secondarily as professional college teachers.[22]

If college teaching was hardly the exclusive career, or even the first choice career, of a majority of eighteenth century professors, Carrell's analysis suggests that it became a long term commitment for many once the move was made. In an analysis of indicators of occupational commitment of his sample professors during their teaching tenure, Carrell found strikingly different results. Nearly 45 percent identified themselves exclusively as college teachers, while about one-quarter identified themselves, respectively, as primarily or secondarily college teachers. Among the latter two categories, clergy were disproportionately represented in the first, while physicians and lawyers were disproportionately represented in the second. This suggests that clergy were more likely than the other learned professions to develop a primary commitment to the professorial role once it was assumed.[23]

That the assumption of a professorship increasingly brought with it a heightened commitment to college teaching is further supported by at least three additional pieces of evidence. First, the average length of professors' tenures increased substantially between 1750-1800. At Yale, the average tenure of professors increased from 21.5 years to 36.8 years while at Brown it increased from 30.7 years to 36.0 years.[24] Second, Carrell reports a negative zero order correlation between age at first appointment and tenure in the professorial role of —.35 suggesting shorter tenures were, at least in part, attributable to late career entry.[25] Finally, Carrell's analysis reveals that only a relatively small proportion of professors during the period pursued subsequent non-academic careers. Just over half of the population died in office. Less than 25 percent engaged in another occupation after leaving the professorship; and among this group several either retired because of "bad health" or "were retired" by their institutions.[26] It would appear safe to conclude, then, that the professorial role, once undertaken, was pursued with a considerable degree of permanency, particularly when we consider the frequency of dual occupations (e.g., medicine and agriculture, law and agriculture, religion and education) characteristic of the late eighteenth century.

One final issue concerning the relationship of the tutor to the professor remains: the relative integration or separation of the two roles in terms of the individual career track. To what extent did the tutorship function as the first step toward a professorship? And to what extent was a professorship the reward of skillful "tutoring"? The evidence suggests that at least two contrasting patterns had developed by the close of the eighteenth century. The Harvard pattern was one of separate career tracks. Not a single Harvard tutor went on to a Harvard professorship during the eighteenth century. Indeed "tutoring" became something of a permanent career option in itself.[27] The pattern at Yale and Brown, and it would appear at most other institutions, was one of a separate, transient career track, tempered by the intermittent use of the tutorship as a very "selective" feeder for the professorship. Thus, at Brown, only four of eighteen eighteenth-century tutors (22.2 percent) went on to professorial appointments and three of the eight professors appointed during that period had served as Brown tutors.[28] At Yale, tutors were less than half as likely as their Brown counterparts to achieve professorial appointments, but all six Yale professors during the period had indeed served as Yale tutors.[29]

Ascent of the Institutional Career, 1800-1820

The first quarter of the nineteenth century has been credited by historian Frederick Rudolph as the beginnings of the "college movement," the large scale founding of small colleges throughout the west stimulated by the "community building" imperative of the period as well as by increasing competition among religious denominations.[30] It may also be credited as the beginning of the "professor movement." Between 1800 and 1820, the ratio of permanent professors to tutors dramatically reversed itself at many of the "leading" institutions. By 1820, permanent professors outnumbered tutors at both Harvard and Yale by a ratio of 10 to 6 where two decades earlier there had been parity at Harvard and a 3 to 1 majority of tutors at Yale. At Brown, professors outnumbered tutors by a ratio of 3 to 1 where only decades earlier the tutors had been in the majority by a 5 to 3 ratio.[31]

The momentum of the professor movement can be seen graphically in developments at Harvard during President Kirkland's administration from 1810 to 1828. During the entire eighteenth century, six professorships had been established at Harvard. They were created when funding to support them was obtained from private donors. If the initial gift was insufficient to support an incumbent, it was allowed to accumulate over one or more decades before the professorship was filled; e.g., the Hersey and Boylston professorships. Several professorships were allowed to go unfilled for as many as ten or twenty years. In the decade preceding the Kirkland presidency, a subscription was launched by Harvard for the creation of a single professorship. During the eighteen years of Kirkland's presidency, the number of Harvard professorships fully doubled. Seven professors were appointed while the funds destined for their support were not yet available. Indeed, in his zeal to make appointments, Kirkland frequently resorted to drawing on tuition revenues to pay the newly hired incumbents.[32]

How can this ascendance of the permanent faculty in a brief two decades be explained? While it is impossible to postulate an explicit cause and effect relationship, three developments during the period appear to have set the necessary, if not sufficient, conditions for that ascendance. The first of these was growth. The Yale faculty doubled in size between 1800 and 1820, while that of Harvard and Brown increased by 50 percent.[33] Beyond size, there was an increase in the number of institutions attendant upon the "college funding movement." Allied with growth was the progressive acceptance of the professorship as a long term, if not an exclusive, career line, reflected in progressively longer average tenures throughout the eighteenth century and the indicators of increasing career commitment reported by Carrell.[34] Yet, a third factor which may help to account for that increased ascendance of the institutional career were changes underway during the first quarter of the eighteenth century in the ministerial sector. Calhoun, in a case study of the New Hampshire clergy during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, reported a radical shift in clerical career patterns about this time, attributable to increasing secularization and urbanization. The average terms of service in local parishes, which throughout most of the eighteenth century had been measured in lifetimes, began to resemble the average tenures of modern college and university presidents. This job insecurity and difficulties in obtaining even so insecure positions, together with the low salaries of clergy in rural and small-town churches, led many ministers to seek to enhance their careers by building organizations such as benevolent societies and colleges and by becoming professors.[35] And the correlation of these developments in the clerical career with the ascent of the professorship is supported by Carrell's finding that clergymen became significantly more likely than their fellow professionals in law and medicine to identify themselves primarily as college teachers by the end of the eighteenth century (v. *supra*).[36]

Academic Professionalization Circa 1820

By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the "professor movement" had produced a relatively large cohort of career college teachers. While still a thoroughly homogeneous group of upper middle class, New England-born Protestants,[37] the confluence of a number of social and intellectual forces during the course of the nineteenth century wrought some fundamental changes in the group career. The progressive secularization of American society was penetrating the classical college, subjugating the demands of piety to a "religion" of progress and materialism.[38] At the same time, the rise of science and the growth of scientific knowledge was breaking apart the classical curriculum and giving rise to the development of academic disciplines (the distinction of professional versus amateur) and of research and graduate education. By mid-century, increasingly large numbers of Americans were studying abroad in Germany and were importing their version of the German university and the German idea of research back to the United States.[39] Once graduate specialization took hold in earnest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was but a short step to the establishment of the major learned societies and their sponsorship of specialized, disciplinary journals: The American Chemical Society in 1876, The Modern Language Association in 1883, The American Historical Association in 1884, The American Psychological Association in 1892, etc.[40]

These developments provided American higher education with the capability of producing graduate trained specialists and career opportunities for the specialists so produced. They shaped and reflected a fundamental restructuring, i.e., professionalization, of the academic role. Although touted by some as a veritable "academic revolution," an examination of the evolving disciplinary, institutional, and external careers of faculty at the sample institutions suggests that the restructuring process actually proceeded by gradual steps over more than a half-century as successive cohorts of professors were replaced by products of the latest graduate training.

Before turning to the evolution of these three career strands during the nineteenth century, it serves to review the status of each as manifested in college faculties in 1820.

By 1820, a disciplinary career was discernible only in the cases of a few isolated individuals at selected campuses rather than among entire faculties. While a majority of individuals continued to come to the professorship with post-baccalaureate training in the traditional professions of divinity, medicine and law (mostly divinity), with the exception of Harvard few boasted post-baccalaureate training in their academic/teaching specialty.[41] For the most part without specialized training, the majority of faculties, 50 percent at Brown and Harvard and 100 percent at Bowdoin, continued to be drawn to their initial academic appointments from non-academic jobs, primarily in school teaching and the ministry and secondarily in law and medicine.[42] Moreover, for most faculty any semblance of a disciplinary career ended with their institutional career. At Brown and Bowdoin, the modal pattern was for faculty to move into non-academic careers following their tenure as college teachers (50 percent of the full professors at Brown and 60 percent of those at Bowdoin, virtually all the junior faculty at both institutions). It should be noted, however, that those full professors who "strayed from the fold" averaged nearly two decades in their teaching positions (21.2 years at Brown and 18.5 years at Bowdoin) suggesting that even among "dropouts," college teaching still constituted a significant segment of their careers.[43]

At other institutions, most notably Harvard and Yale, patterns of career commitment appeared to be differentiated along senior/junior faculty lines. While no junior faculty at either institution persisted in an academic career beyond their tutorship or instructorship, the majority of permanent professors did (83 percent at Yale and 70 percent at Harvard).

Whatever their career commitments, institutionally speaking, college faculties in 1820 evidenced fairly low disciplinary commitment as measured by their associational involvements and scholarly publications. Only a single faculty member at Brown, Bowdoin, Harvard, and Yale was involved to any significant extent in the activities of the learned societies of the day (Caswell at Brown, Cleaveland at Bowdoin, Peck at Harvard, and Silliman at Yale who had the year before founded the *American Journal of Science*).[44] And it was only those same single faculty members who were at all involved in publication in their specialized field (excluding the medical faculty). Many professors at these institutions were indeed publishing, but their work consisted chiefly in collections of sermons and public addresses/orations made at commencements and other public occasions.

While many professors in 1820 were actively pursuing external careers, virtually none did so in their academic specialization. Beyond the service of a few men such as Silliman and Cleaveland on the public lecture circuit, the vast majority of professors devoted their extra-institutional service to clerical and civic activities. Fully three-quarters of the professors at Dartmouth, two-thirds of those at Bowdoin, and half of those at Brown were engaged in itinerant preaching and work with missionary societies. Somewhat lower proportions participated actively in community life, principally by holding political office, assuming leadership roles in local civic associations unrelated to education or intellectual culture (e.g., tree planting societies) or, in fewer cases, taking membership in state historical societies.[45]

By 1820, the now familiar formalized institutional career track, i.e., the progression through the junior ranks to a full professorship, had not appeared. Indeed, in many respects, the two-track system largely operative at the turn of the nineteenth century remained intact with junior faculty holding temporary, dead-end appointments and senior faculty with long-term appointments. At Harvard, fully 80 percent of the senior faculty were initially appointed to their professorships from outside the institution, and 62 percent of these claimed no previous academic experience.[46] While Harvard was alone in this period in having established the "instructorship" as distinguished from the tutorship and the professorship,[47] instructors rarely moved to Harvard professorships and tutors did not advance to instructorships.[48]

While Yale and Brown continued to reflect some departure from the Harvard pattern by promotion of tutors to professorships, the extent of that departure appeared to be decreasing. Two-thirds of Brown and Yale arts and science professors served as tutors at their employing institutions, a significant decrement from the 100 percent who had so served on the faculties of 1800. Moreover, none of the six tutors on the Yale faculty in 1820 advanced to a Yale professorship, in contrast to two of six in 1800; and only two of the thirty-two tutors on the Yale faculty during the 1820s were so advanced.[49] Even more dramatically, at Brown, none of the ten tutors appointed during the decade of the 1820s advanced to a professorship.[50] It seems fair to conclude, then, at least on the basis of the increasing convergence of practices at Harvard, Yale, Brown, that by 1820 the dual track academic career, defined along junior-senior faculty lines, was on the ascent rather than the descent.

In sum, it may be said that there were at least two "typical" faculty members by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The first "typical" faculty member was quite young and took on a temporary assignment as either a tutor or instructor before embarking on a non-academic career, usually in the ministry. He typically came to his employing institution from the ranks of its immediate past graduates and probably undertook training in some traditional profession (usually the ministry) either during or just after his short term appointment. The second "typical" faculty member was the professor who had had some post-baccalaureate training in one of the traditional professions (albeit not in his teaching specialty) and had come to a professorship at his *alma mater* perhaps from a tutorship at the same employing institution, or, more likely, from a non-academic occupation (often a pastorate). During the course of his appointment, he was engaged in itinerant preaching and a variety of community activities that were probably non-educational and non-intellectual in nature, except perhaps for membership in the state historical society. Depending on his particular employing institution, he may have moved to a non-academic occupation after a tenure of nearly two decades; or he may have continued his teaching activities for the rest of his life, most probably at his original employing institution. Together, these two types approached their role as a teaching/custodial function, oftentimes as an extension of an earlier or concurrent ministerial role.

Academic Professionalization, 1820-1880

Well before the Civil War, the disciplinary career of the American professoriate as reflected in the incidence of specialized training, publication activity, associational involvements and career commitment was undergoing significant change. The preceding discussion has already established that Harvard was at the vanguard in the area of specialized training; by 1821, 40 percent of its faculty had received such training. While isolated instances of specialty-trained faculty could be discerned during the 1830s and 1840s at Brown, Bowdoin, and Yale, these institutions did not begin replicating the Harvard pattern to any significant degree until the

1850s and 1860s. At Brown, for example, as early as 1841, John Lincoln was sent to study in Europe prior to assuming his assistant professorship. However, it was not until the mid-1850s that nearly one-quarter of the Brown faculty were to take leaves for European study (two of them returning with European doctorates).[51] At Bowdoin, as early as 1835 John Goodwin was appointed professor of modern languages and dispatched to Europe for two years to prepare for his position. Goodwin, however, remained largely alone during his thirteen-year tenure, pending several other appointments in the early 1860s.[52] At Yale, as early as 1843 Thomas Thatcher took leave to engage in European study, but it was not until 1863 that Yale appointed its first Ph.D. to the faculty.[53]

At institutions such as Dartmouth and Williams, developments began later but proceeded more rapidly. At Dartmouth, as late as the mid-1850s, nearly all of the faculty in the academical department had received training in the traditional professions but none in a specialized academic discipline. With a half dozen appointments in the late 1860s and early 1870s, however, Dartmouth had virtually reversed that condition in a single decade.[54] At Williams, the first professionally trained faculty member was not appointed until 1858 (Thomas Clark who had just received his doctorate in chemistry from the University of Gottingen) and a second did not assume professorial duties until the close of the Civil War. By 1869, however, fully five of the thirteen members of the Williams faculty could boast graduate training in their teaching specialty.[55]

As the proportion of faculty with discipline-related credentials increased, so did the proportion of those embarking on an academic career immediately following their training. At Harvard, by 1869 the proportion of faculty with no previous non-academic career had doubled since 1845 (44 percent versus 22 percent).[56] Even more dramatically, at Bowdoin, during the 1870s, nearly two-thirds of the faculty embarked on their academic careers immediately after their graduate training, compared to barely 20 percent during the preceding decade.[57]

If the pattern of increased specialized training together with assumption of an academic career immediately following that training did not take hold until the 1850s and the 1860s, other aspects of the disciplinary career (i.e., scholarly publication and participation in learned societies) were developing earlier. At Bowdoin, the largest jump in the faculty's *Professional Index* during the nineteenth century occurred during the second quarter of the century.[58] By 1845, 70 percent of the faculty were publishing in their field (although nearly half of these were primarily publishing their lectures as textbooks) and nearly 30 percent were involved in the activities of scientific associations. At Harvard, the faculty's *Professional Index* took its largest jump in the early 1840s during the Quincy presidency, nearly doubling in less than two decades.[59] The most significant jump in the Brown faculty's *Professional Index* occurred between 1845 and the end of the Civil War. By 1845, half the Brown faculty was publishing in their field of specialization (even if in the more popular media); and by the Civil War, one-half were affiliated with major disciplinary and scientific associations.[60]

By the 1850s, one unmistakable sign of the ascendance of the disciplinary career was evident. Institutional commitments built on inbreeding were breaking down in the face of disciplinary commitments which opened up opportunities at other institutions. At Bowdoin, three faculty left for positions at other institutions where only one had done so in the previous half century.[61] At Brown, while only one professor left during the decade preceding the Civil War, several junior faculty pursued career interests by moves to other institutions.[62] And during the 1850s and 1860s, the University of Michigan, and to a lesser extent the University of Wisconsin, were both serving as "revolving doors," especially for senior faculty. At Michigan, for example, among forty-three professors appointed between 1845-1868, twenty-three left, typically after relatively short tenures. While several were clearly victims of internecine strife, at least ten left for a better academic position.[63] Thus, by the eve of the Civil War, interinstitutional mobility was progressively becoming associated with academic careers.

These evolving disciplinary commitments were also extending in the 1850s to faculty extra-institutional service. Indeed, the bare outline of an external career based more on disciplinary expertise, experience as educator, and role as proponent of culture rather than proponent of religion was becoming discernible. At Brown, for example, the immediate pre-Civil War period saw the first instance of a faculty member using their expertise in the service of state government in the appointment of a professor of chemistry to head the Rhode Island Board of Weights and Measures. By the end of the Civil War, the proportion of the Brown faculty involved in itinerant preaching and other clerical activities dropped from over a third at mid-century to one-eighth. While nearly three quarters of the faculty remained involved in civic and community affairs, the nature of that involvement had changed. Only a single faculty member was directly involved in elective politics while the majority were involved in distinctively cultural, academic, and education-related activities such as membership on boards of education, holding office in national honor societies, art and historical societies, and state and federal government commissions.[64] At Bowdoin, by the eve of the Civil War, we find a majority of faculty (57 percent) engaged in extra institutional roles as specialists, educators, and men of letters. Parker Cleveland offered public lectures on minerology and Alpheus Packard on education; President Woods and Professor Packard were engaged in commissioned writing for the Maine Historical Society; and Thomas Upham was writing pamphlets for the American Peace Association.[65]

Other institutions lagged a decade or more behind in this evolution of the external career. At Dartmouth, as late as 1851 three quarters of the faculty continued to participate actively in the community as preachers, licentiates, or ordained ministers and as civic boosters. By the late 1870s, however, the proportion of faculty engaged in clerical activities had dropped precipitously to 15 percent, while more than half were engaged significantly in their fields of specialization.[66] At Wisconsin, by the early 1870s, professors at the University were being called upon to head the state geological survey.[67]

The disciplinary and discipline-based external career taking shape in the immediate pre-Civil War period also gave rise to two significant, interrelated changes in the institutional career pattern during the 1860s and 1870s. New roles as instructor and assistant professor were established and forged into a career sequence that at once gave shape to the academic career and regulated the movement through the junior ranks to a professorship. Concomitantly, the junior faculty ranks were expanded and professionalized. Together, these developments served to integrate into a single structure the dual career track system of junior and senior faculty that had characterized the early part of the nineteenth century.

The instructorship and the assistant professorship actually made their appearance quite early at some institutions. As early as 1821, one-third of the Harvard faculty were serving in instructorships.[illegible] The first instructors were appointed at Yale in 1824 and during the 1830s [illegible] arts and sciences, at Michigan in 1843, and at Brown in 1844. The first assistant professors were appointed at Brown in 1835, at Yale in 1842, and at Michigan in 1857.[69] Despite the early precedents, these new roles did not take hold for several decades even at these trend-setting institutions (with the exception of Harvard) and for an even longer period at the more insulated institutions such as Dartmouth, Bowdoin, and Williams. Thus, at Yale, only four instructors were appointed during the two decades following the first appointment; and only four additional assistant professors were appointed during the three decades following the first appointment.[70] Similarly, at Brown and Michigan, the instructorship languished until the 1860s and the 1870s, respectively; while the assistant professorship languished until the 1890s and the 1880s, respectively.[71] At Dartmouth, Bowdoin, and Williams, it was not until the 1860s that these roles first appeared and several decades later until they were firmly entrenched.[72]

These new roles represented a significant departure from the "tutorship" for their incumbents were appointed within a specific department of instruction and were likely to be the products of specialized training. Moreover, their appearance significantly transformed the tutorship, leading to its demise at some institutions (at Brown in the 1840s and at Williams in the early 1860s) and to its transformation into a junior instructorship at others. At Yale in the 1830s, for example, tutors began to be assigned to departments of instruction.[73] But, for at least several decades, they were not equivalent to their modern counterpart in at least one fundamental respect; they did not serve in a majority of cases as feeders to the full professorship. At both Harvard and Yale, it was not until the 1860s that a substantial proportion of junior faculty were advanced to a professorship (25 percent at Harvard and just over a third at Yale) and not until the decade of the 1870s that a bare majority of the junior faculty were advanced.[74] Similar patterns prevailed at Brown and, even more dramatically, at Michigan. Between 1845-1868, only one of eight junior faculty at Michigan had risen to a full professorship; a single decade later 80 percent were promoted.[75]

During the decade immediately following the Civil War, the junior faculty role, then, had changed from a temporary, dead-end appointment to the first step in the academic career ladder. At the very same time, the ranks of the junior faculty were undergoing their most rapid expansion and their largest increase in professionalization. By 1880, junior faculty outnumbered their senior colleagues at Harvard by a ratio of 8 to 5, compared to a ration of 3 to 2 a decade earlier, had attained full parity with senior faculty at Michigan, compared with a 2 to 8 ratio a decade earlier, and were on their way to parity at Brown, constituting 40 percent of the faculty in contrast to less than a third a decade earlier.[76] They were increasingly entering their academic careers directly from graduate training in their specialty and moving from junior appointments at other institutions. At least at Harvard and Brown, they held as highly developed a professional orientation, measured by McCaughey's *Professional Index*, as their senior colleagues.

The modern academic career had come of age.

Discussion and Implications

The foregoing analysis suggests a four stage model in the evolution of the academic role by the late nineteenth century at the sample institutions: (1) the emergence of an institutional career within the matrix of the traditional professions in the latter half of the eighteenth century; (2) the rapid expansion and consolidation of that institutional career in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, at least for the permanent senior faculty; (3) the gradual professionalization of academic faculties along specialized, disciplinary lines beginning in the second and accelerating in the third quarter of the nineteenth century; (4) the formalization of the institutional career progression through the ranks, beginning in the third and accelerating in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

This model and the data upon which it is built suggest a number of generalizations about the historical development of the American academic professions. First, they suggest that to the extent that the epithet "revolution" may be applied to the history of academic people, the first such revolution probably ought to be located at the turn of the nineteenth century. It was then that American college faculties were transformed from "revolving doors" to "permanent" bodies of careerists; and it was then that we find the first explosive growth in the size of permanent academic faculties. Second, they suggest a series of generalizations about professionalization in the nineteenth century. The process of professionalization of college faculties as self-conscious, disciplinary specialists was well underway for several decades preceding the Civil War and the emergence of the American university in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The transformation was a gradual one; and in at least two respects it proceeded quite unevenly. Internally, different dimensions of "professionalization" proceeded according to somewhat different timetables, i.e., participation in learned societies and in specialized scholarly publication, and, to a lesser extent, the ascendance of disciplinary over institutional commitments (as reflected in inter-institutional mobility) temporally preceded the large scale shift to specialized disciplinary training and the direct movement from graduate training to full-time academic work. Interinstitutionally, these developments began and gathered momentum at different times at different institutions — quite early, for example, at Harvard and Bowdoin, considerably later at Williams and Dartmouth. Finally, the data clearly suggest that professionalization temporally preceded by at least several decades the formalization of the modern institutional career track.

That the academic faculties examined here were engaging in specialized, scholarly publication and in the activities of scientific associations on a significant scale *before* they were seeking and receiving specialized training on a similar scale and moving from such training directly to full-time academic posts suggests the situation of a rapidly transforming profession awaiting an institutional structure within which to express its new ideals and orientations. Similarly, that professionalization preceded by several decades the formalization of the institutional career track again suggests a newly arrived group awaiting an institutional structure within which to operate. And indeed, the evidence gleaned from McCaughey's in-depth analysis of nineteenth century Harvard,[77] as well as the accounts of faculty uprisings against the ideals and organization of the "old time" college at Williams in 1868-1872 and at Dartmouth in 1881,[78] would appear to support the proposition that the growing pressures from rapidly professionalizing academic faculties were indeed a major impetus to the transformation of American higher education in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Having hazarded the above generalizations, it must be emphasized that both the model presented here and the inferences drawn must, of course, remain tentative. They are based on the experiences of a half dozen of the leading, eastern institutions, with the exception of Michigan. To what extent are these experiences duplicated by the younger, western institutions? How did more reformed minded institutions such as Union compare with more classical institutions such as Yale and Williams? Questions such as these suggest that sound historical conclusions about academic professionalization must await comparable data on a more representative sample of institutional types and the internal comparisons that such representativeness will allow.

Quite beyond the issue of generalizability is that of explanation. How are we to account for the emergence of the institutional career during the first quarter of the nineteenth century? How much of it may be attributable to changes in the ministerial career in New England? How are we to account for the uneven development of professionalization both across institutions and across various dimensions of professionalization? While broad explanations can certainly be located in the major social and intellectual transformations occurring in nineteenth century America, the question remains as to how these broad changes were experienced at different types of institutions and reflected in the diverse conditions of academic employment. And answers to this latter question, too, must await the generation of comparable data sets on faculties at a greater diversity of institutional types.[79]

NOTES

1. Wilson Smith, "The Teacher in Puritan Culture," *Harvard Educational Review* 36 (1966): 394-411.

2. William Carrell, "American College Professors: 1750-1800," *History of Education Quarterly*, 8 (1968): 289-305.

3. Robert McCaughey, "The Transformation of American Academic Life: Harvard University 1821-1892," *Perspectives in American History*, 8 (1974): 239-334; Marilyn Tobias, "Old Dartmouth on Trial: The Transformation of the Academic Community in Nineteenth Century America" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1977), published by the New York University Press, 1982; and Allan Creutz, "From College Teacher to University Scholars: The Evolution and Professionalization of Academics at the University of Michigan, 1841-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1981).

4. They range from McCaughey's more limited focus on the timing of changes in various contemporary indicators of academic professionalization (e.g., the incidence of specialized training and publication for disciplinary audiences) between 1820-1892 to Tobias' and Creutz's broader focus on the impetus and timing of changes in faculty self concepts, ideologies and career patterns during the latter half of the nineteenth century as these both reflected and shaped the intellectual and social milieu of nineteenth century America.

5. Harvard surely had to be located at the "pinnacle" of the system. Michigan was subject to unusual internecine strife among faculty and between faculty and the Board of Regents in the early years and grew more explosively than most institutions in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Dartmouth lingered under the paternalistic leadership of President Bartlett until 1893.

6. Both Smith, *Harvard Educational Review*, and Carrell, *History of Educational Quarterly*, limit their analysis to data for the pre-1800 period. McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, collected data beginning in 1821, while Tobias and Creutz collected data on faculty in the second half of the nineteenth century.

7. In the cases of Brown, Bowdoin, and Yale, historical catalogues were employed to collect data comparable to McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, and Tobias on faculty at five points in time: 1800, 1820, 1845, 1869, 1880. See *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, 1764-1904 (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 1905), Alpheus Packard, ed., *History of Bowdoin College* (Boston: James Ripley Osgood and Company, 1882), and *Historical Register of Yale University*, 1701-1937 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1939). The variables for which data were collected included: geographic origin, source of baccalaureate degree, the timing and nature of post-baccalaureate training, the nature of previous non-academic employment, age and years of teaching experience at time of initial appointment and at appointment to professorships, academic rank, years at focal institution, nature and timing of any subsequent occupation, nature and extent of publication activity, nature and extent of involvement with extra-institutional organization (e.g., historical and literary societies, later disciplinary organizations and local and state government), and scores on two indices

developed by McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History* (The *Outsider Index* assessing the relationship of the focal individual to the institution previous to initial appointment and a *Professional Index* assessing the extent of professionalization as reflected in post-baccalaureate training, career pattern, publication/research activity, and associational involvements). A similar analysis was also undertaken for the University of Michigan faculty in 1845, 1869, and 1880, based on *The General Catalogue of the University of Michigan*, 1837-1911 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1912).

In addition to these more systematic efforts, a variety of secondary sources, ranging from standard histories of higher education to institutional histories to memoirs, were mined for data on developments related to faculty. These included: Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of The American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Merle Curti, *The University of Wisconsin*: 1848-1925 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949); Samuel Eliot, *A Sketch of the History of Harvard College* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1848); Samuel E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936); Frederick Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956); Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton 1746-1896* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946); and Timothy Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men 1845-1899* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1903).

Given the convenient, non-representative character of the institutional sample and the consequent limitations imposed on valid historical generalizations, no attempt was made to present the actual data in tabular form. Rather, it was decided to view the data as preliminary and suggestive and introduce it as necessary into the narrative.

8. In-depth institutional developments are, of course, covered in McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, Tobias, "Old Dartmouth on Trial," and Creutz, "From College Teacher to University Scholar." For interpretations of the cultural/social matrix of academic professionalization, the reader should consult Tobias and Creutz as well as Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York: W. Norton and Company, 1976) and Dale Wolfle, *The Home of Science* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972).

9. Donald Light, *et. al.*, "The Impact of the Academic Revolution on Faculty Careers," *ERIC-AAHE Research Reports*, 10 (1972).

10. W. H. Cowley, *Professors, Presidents, and Trustees*, ed., Donald T. Williams (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), pp. 18-19. Also personal communications from Allan O Pfnister.

11. Morison, pp. 51-53.

12. Smith, *Harvard Educational Review*, shows that during the period 1685-1701 the tenure of Harvard tutors averaged 6.4 years and increased to 9.0 years during the first half of the eighteenth century.

13. Carrell, *History of Education Quarterly*, pp. 289-290.

14. At Harvard, an institutional career was provided by the appointment of "permanent" tutors as well as professors. The tutorship became institutionalized there in a way it

was not at Harvard's sister institutions, largely, it would appear, as a result of the precedent set by the fifty-five year tutorship of Henry Flynt during the first half of the eighteenth century (Smith, *Harvard Educational Review* 36, pp. 400-401).

15. When endowment funds were insufficient for the full maintenance of a professorship, the funds were allowed to accumulate for as much as one or two decades before filling the position. See Eliot, p. 107.

16. *Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 55-56, 229 (Day), 244 (Dwight), 386 (Meigs), 477 (Silliman).

17. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, p. 36.

18. Wertenbaker, p. 50.

19. Cowley, p. 80.

20. Carrell, *History of Education Quarterly*, pp. 294-295.

21. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 36, 74 (Maxey), 77 (Messer), 518 (Howell), 528 (Fobes). Also Eliot, pp. 41-44, 61, 72, 96.

22. Carrell, *History of Education Quarterly*, pp. 296-298.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Historical Register of Yale University*, p. 63, 202 (Clap), 223 (Daggett), 229 (Day), 244 (Dwight), 386 (Meigs), 477 (Silliman). Also *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, p. 36.

25. Carrell, *History of Education Quarterly*, pp. 298-300.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Smith, *Harvard Educational Review*, pp. 402-405.

28. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 36-37.

29. *Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 54-56.

30. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 51-55.

31. McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 316-317; *The Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 57, 63, 229 (Day), 260-261 (Fisher, Fitch), 281 (Goodrich), 328 (Ives), 342 (Kingsley), 345 (Knight), 403 (Munson), 477 (Silliman), 484 (Smith); *The Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 36-37. Even at institutions such as Bowdoin, where the ratio of professors to tutors remained the same, appointments during the 1820s gave the permanent professors ascendance (Packard, pp. 125-136).

32. Eliot, p. 107.

33. *Ibid; Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 56-57, 244 (Dwight), 386 (Meigs), 229 (Day), 260-261 (Fisher, Fitch), 281 (Goodrich), 328 (Ives), 342 (Kingsley), 345 (Knight), 403 (Munson), 477 (Silliman), 484 (Smith).

34. Carrell, *History of Education Quarterly*, pp. 296-300.

35. Daniel Calhoun, *Professional Lives in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 166, cited by Tobias, "Old Dartmouth on Trial," pp. 33-34.

36. Carrell, *History of Education Quarterly*, p. 297.

37. Among faculty at the "leading" institutions, over three-fourths had been sired by old New England families. Ecclesiastical and business family backgrounds continued to predominate, although the proportion of farm families had begun to increase. And Protestantism continued as the professorial religion, although some of the "lower" Protestant denominations, e.g., Baptists and Methodists, were now rivaling the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and Unitarians for hegemony. (v. Veysey, pp. 300-301).

38. Calhoun, pp. 166-168; John Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 115-118; Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 320-363.

39. Hofstadter and Metzger, pp. 374-378; Veysey, pp. 121-133, 158-179; Wolfe, pp. 5-14, 33-63, 85-91; and Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, eds., *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America*, 1860-1920 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), pp. 3-18, 285-312.

40. Bernard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960), pp. 14-15.

41. While four out of ten Harvard professors had studied in Europe, at least three of these had done so on Harvard stipends provided after their initial appointment as a means of preparation for their professorship. See McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 250.

42. *Ibid; Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, p. 69 (Drowne), 77 (Messer), 83 (Burges), 85 (Park) 117 (Adams), 212 (Peck), 122 (Brooks), 126 (Mann), 518 (Howell), 541 (Ingalls); Packard, pp. 125-136.

43. *Ibid.* These mobility patterns represent no significant change from those in 1800.

44. All of these were "professional" scientists. See McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, p. 254; Packard, pp. 126-129; *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 133-134; *Historical Register of Yale University*, p. 477.

45. Packard, pp. 125-136; Tobias, pp. 29-32, 254; *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 69 (Drowne), 77 (Messer), 83 (Burges), 85 (Park), 117 (Adams), 121 (Peck), 122 (Brooks), 126 (Mann), 518 (Howell), 541 (Ingalls).

46. McCaughey, *Perspective in American History*, pp. 250 and 330-332. While we use the term "outsiders" here and subsequently to describe these appointments, it should be noted that virtually all of these outsiders at Harvard and elsewhere were in a fundamental sense "insiders" as well: i.e., they were returning after an hiatus to their baccalaureate *alma mater*.

47. Yale did not appoint an instructor until 1824 and that in law. None were appointed in arts and sciences until the 1830s. At Brown, the first instructor was appointed in 1844.

48. While it is true that two of Harvard's ten professors in 1820 had served as Harvard instructors, this was clearly a notable exception rather than the rule. Indeed, none of the five instructors in 1820 went on to Harvard professorships. See McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 250, 317.

49. *Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 57-58.

50. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, p. 38.

51. *Ibid*, p. 170 (Lincoln), 156 (Chace), 167 (Jewett), 183 (Boise), 192 (Harkness), 223 (Diman).

52. Packard, p. 431 (Goodwin), 743 (Young), 135 (Rockwood).

53. *Historical Register of Yale University*, p. 507 (Thacher), 418 (Packard).

54. Tobias, pp. 28, 53-54, 249.

55. Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log*, p. 128.

56. McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, p. 330.

57. Packard, pp. 125-136.

58. The *Professional Index* was developed by McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 125-136, in his study of the nineteenth century Harvard faculty. It taps primarily two dimensions of faculty professionalization: specialized disciplinary training and publication in a specialty.

59. McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 262-263, 326.

60. Included in this latter group were a founder and future president of the American Philological Association; a future vice president of the American Chemical Society; a founder and future vice president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science as well as a founder of the National Academy of Sciences. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 133 (Caswell), 156 (Chace), 159 (Gammell), 170 (Lincoln), 183 (Boise), 192 (Harkness), 223 (Diman), 270 (Appleton).

61. Packard, pp. 431 (Goodwin), 134 (Hitchcock), 287 (Stowe).

62. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 183 (Boise), 195 (Day), 207 (Jillson).

63. See Creutz, pp. 55-64, for details on faculty-Board of Regents conflicts. For mobility data, see *The General Catalogue of the University of Michigan*, pp. 6-9.

64. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 133 (Caswell), 156 (Chace), 159 (Gammell), 170 (Lincoln), 183 (Boise), 192 (Harkness), 223 (Diman), 270 (Appleton).

65. Packard, pp. 120-124, 126-129, 131-133, 188-190.

66. Tobias, p. 254.

67. Curti, p. 53.

68. McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, p. 317.

69. *The Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 54-55, 56-57: *The Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 312 (Hitchcock), 507 (Thacher); *The General Catalogue of the University of Michigan*, pp. 19, 22.

70. *The Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 148 (Bakewell), 514 (Townsend), 518 (Turner), 532 (Waterman), 290 (Hadley), 244 (Dwight), 418 (Packard), 446 (Richards).

71. *The Historical Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 54-55, 56-61; *The General Catalogue of the University of Michigan*, pp. 19-20, 22-24.

72. Tobias, pp. 42-43, 246; Packard, pp. 743 (Young), 839; Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log*, pp. 52-53.

73. *The Historical Register of Yale University*, pp. 19, 54.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61; McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 316-321.

75. *The General Catalogue of the University of Michigan*, pp. 6-9.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-12, 18-19, 22-23; McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 319-321; *The General Catalogue of Brown University*, pp. 52-53, 54, 57.

77. McCaughey, *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 239-332.

78. For Williams, see Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log*, pp. 221-233. For Dartmouth, see Tobias, pp. 2-3, 61-72.

79. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for raising some of these questions.

Vision and Fulfillment: The Evolution of the Hebrew University, 1901-1950

Yaacov Iram

DURING THE TWENTY FIVE YEARS from 1925 to 1950 changes in the aim of higher education and the structure of institutions in Israel brought on a shift in the relative importance attached to scientific research, cultural transmission through instruction, and professional training or service to the broader community. These changes were influenced by the traditions of higher education in Europe and the United States, as well as by domestic socioeconomic and political developments, cultural factors, and national aspirations prevailing in Palestine and, after 1948 in the State of Israel.

To understand these changes in aims and structure one has to examine the deliberations that went on from the time of the first Zionist Congress in 1897 and the opening of the first two institutions of higher education in Israel in 1925;[1] namely, the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) in Haifa and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The vision of an Institute of Technology and a Hebrew University was stirred by Jewish national awakening, and its fulfillment became possible through the gradual realization of Jewish national aspirations. However, the opening of the Technion, planned for 1912-13, was delayed for more than twelve years because the sponsors, the German-Jewish Philanthropic Society (Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden), insisted that German be used as the language of instruction. This plan met strong opposition from Zionist representatives on the board and from the Jewish public in Palestine. The events that followed culminated in a struggle known as "the strife of tongues" or "the language war." In this conflict, Hebrew finally gained the status of the official and exclusive language of Jews in Palestine.[2]

The deliberations of the years before 1925 reflected, also, the differing traditions of higher education in the United States and the countries of Europe, particularly Germany and England. These differences affected the basic aims of higher education concerning research, instruction, and service and were expressed in academic and administrative structure, fields of study, and attitudes toward academic freedom.[3] Although it is difficult to credit any one tradition with an exclusive influence on higher education in Israel, it is possible to identify when one tradition or another prevailed in the evolution of the university.

This essay will examine the influence of various traditions of higher education in three major decisions at the Hebrew University: formation of academic structure (research institutes, 1925); inclusion of new disciplines, particularly the social sciences (education, 1935); and redesign of the learning structure ("The Reform," 1950).

These decisions and subsequent developments in the Hebrew University will be discussed from the perspective of the different traditions of higher education in Germany,[4] England,[5] and the United States.[6] It is essential, therefore, to sum up briefly the aspects of those traditions which influenced political and academic leaders during the planning of the University and Technion as well as the development of these institutions once they were established.

The German contributions were in the freedom to teach and to learn *(Lehrfreiheit und Lernfreiheit)*; a quadripartite faculty structure which excluded technology, engineering, business administration and the other "practical professions;" and the view that a university is primarily a research institute.[7]

The English influence (drawn especially from "Oxbridge"[8] but from the "Provincial Universities"[9] as well) can be summarized in the words of Cardinal Newman (1852) who assumed that the object of a university was "the diffusion and extension of knowledge [teaching] rather than the advancement [research]"[10] directed to "raising the intellectual tone of society" and "training good members of society."[11] Similarly, Alfred North Whitehead[12] and Sir Richard Livingstone[13] stressed a university's responsibility for moral education, spiritual discipline and character formation rather than research. This partially explains the inclusion of professional training and the tutorial relationship in English universities.[14]

The most influential features of the American model affecting the development of the Hebrew University were: the harmonious blend of instruction, service, and research, interrelated with a three-tiered degree structure and the professional schools; the elective system; and the overall tendency of the American system towards comprehensiveness and flexibility in form and content.[15] Kerr's characterization of the three major components of the American system and their relation to higher education traditions seems most appropriate. "Undergraduate life seeks to follow the British . . . Graduate life and research follow the Germans. . . . . The 'lesser' professions (lesser than law and medicine) and the service activities follow the American pattern.'"[16]

Although no one of these traditions had an exclusive influence, it is possible to demonstrate the prevalence of one or another in the decisions that the Hebrew University made at different periods of its development. Along with the influences of these traditions and sometimes in opposition to them were the pressures on the University and the Technion to accommodate to changing circumstances in the *Yishuv*, the Jewish community in Palestine, and later to the needs of the newly created state of Israel.

Higher Education in Israel

Before considering the influence of these educational traditions on the Hebrew University, it is worthwhile to take a brief look at the main events leading to its establishment. Suggestions for a "Jewish university" were first made in Italy, in the fifteenth[17] and sixteenth[18] centuries. However, the idea of a "Hebrew University," especially in Palestine, is connected with Jewish national revival toward the end of the nineteenth century. It was proposed formally before the first World Zionist Congress in 1897 by Hermann Schapira (rabbi, mathematician at Heidelberg University and Zionist leader who proposed the establishment of the Jewish National Fund).

At the fourth Zionist Congress in 1901, Dr. Chaim Weizmann suggested that the possibility of founding a Hebrew university in Jerusalem be examined, and he, together with Martin Buber and Bertold Feiwel, initiated the publication of a detailed program for its establishment.[19] The eleventh Zionist Congress in Vienna in 1913 adopted a resolution urging practical steps to establish a Hebrew university in Jerusalem and appointed a committee to solicit the support of Jewish philanthropists for this project.

The effort was halted by World War I but regained momentum with the signing of the Balfour Declaration. After the war, the World Zionist Organization acquired the property of the Technikum from the German-Jewish Philanthropic Society, and the Technion was opened officially on 6 February 1925 as a technological university.[20] Meanwhile, on 24 July 1918 the cornerstone of the Hebrew University was laid at Mount Scopus, and the next seven years were dedicated to the realization of the idea. The University opened on 1 April 1925.[21]

The historical background of the University and its special place in the framework of Jewish national revival explain many of its characteristics. More than answering practical needs of the Jewish community in

Palestine, the Hebrew University was intended to help generate the Jewish national revival and to be a focus for research in Judaic studies and in science. Along with this purpose, and at times in opposition to it, was the practical need to provide an opportunity for higher learning for young European Jews who were excluded from universities in their own countries by the notorious *numeros clausus* which limited Jewish admissions.

From the beginning, the higher learning enterprise was regarded as a responsibility of the Jewish people throughout the world. Thus, the supreme authority for both the Hebrew University and the Technion was vested in the board of governors of the University and the curatorion of the Technion, composed of Jewish individuals of importance and friends in various parts of the world. This also partially explains the international influence on the University and the Technion during their development.

The Hebrew University

The idea of founding a Hebrew University in Jerusalem was greeted sympathetically by the leaders of the Zionist movement. Even so, there were basic differences concerning the nature and policy of the future institution. The debate centered on whether the university should be a research institute or a center for liberal arts and professional training.

One approach in the Zionist movement was propounded by Vladimir-Ze'ev Jabotinsky (founder of the activist Zionist Revisionist Movement and an orator, writer, and poet). He advocated the building of an institution emphasizing research, instruction, and professional training. Concerned about the difficulties of Jewish students in Europe gaining admission to universities, he sought the establishment of a university which would emphasize teaching and which would include schools of medicine, the humanities, and public administration. He introduced his concept of the university to the eleventh Zionist Congress in Vienna in 1913.[22]

A second approach was that of Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginsberg, one of the most influential modern Jewish thinkers) who favored cultural rather than political Zionism and of Chaim Weizmann (leader of the Zionist movement and first president of the state of Israel, from 1948 to 1952). Ahad Ha'am and Weizmann favored the establishment of small, quality research institutes.

Ahad Ha'am's dream was to build in Jerusalem a national Hebrew academy with a lecture hall, library, and national museum. Here, a staff of about twenty scholars would lecture on their research, compose a Hebrew dictionary, publish scientific editions of Hebrew literature, and publish a scientific journal.[23]

Weizmann opposed the establishment of a university whose main function would be the training of an "intellectual proletariat." Like Ahad Ha'am, he advocated the establishment of research institutes instead of teaching faculties and departments.[24] In his address at the Inauguration Ceremony of the University, Weizmann expressed this view:

> We have made no attempt to extemporize a pretentious replica of one of the great teaching universities of the West. We have made up our minds that it is for our university to win its spurs and build up its reputation by the distinctive value of its contributions to the common stock of knowledge. We have begun with a group of institutes for advanced research in those branches of science and learning for which Palestine offers peculiarly congenial soil.[25]

The views of Ahad Ha'am and Weizmann prevailed and guided university policy in its early stages. Thus, before the official opening of the Hebrew University on 1 April 1925, research institutes were founded in chemistry and microbiology, along with an institute of Jewish Studies. During the first year, research institutes were added in Oriental Studies and Palestine natural history. Departments of mathematics and hygiene were established.[26]

This policy met opposition from the Jewish community in Palestine who demanded that opportunities for instruction also be provided. Many teachers and high school graduates requested academic training in Palestine so that they would not have to go to universities abroad as in the past. Among the University faculty, as well, there developed a recognition of the need for training young scientists. In 1927, the University's board of governors appointed a committee to study this problem. Its recommendations, accepted by the board of governors in 1928, were that the University should start instruction only in those subjects for which qualified teachers were already on the staff. Only students with appropriate background were to be admitted.[27] This decision led immediately to the establishment of a faculty of humanities which incorporated in 1928 the Institutes of Jewish Studies and Oriental Studies, and courses in humanities. At that time the University began instruction leading to the degree of master of arts. A master of science program in the natural sciences followed in 1931.[28]

The University proved flexible in responding to the community demands by introducing instruction, but its response was a compromise between two schools of thought within the University. Teaching was to take place on the two upper levels of higher education: for masters' degrees and doctorates. Students were to choose one major field of study and two minor fields. The decision to introduce instruction and grant degrees was not at the expense of research. Moreover, the University's goal was to equip students with a scientific-research orientation rather than a general education. The dominant influence in matters of structure and content was that of German higher education where research was emphasized at all levels, as opposed to American higher education which affirmed the importance of general education at the bachelor's level (a degree not offered at this time at the Hebrew University) and where research was delayed until the graduate level. The exclusion of technology, engineering, business administration and all of the "practical professions" as well as the structure and authority of the academic and administrative bodies also reflected German influence.

Differences of opinion continued at Hebrew University concerning the relation of research to instruction and the University's responsibility to the public, and surfaced whenever new fields of study or changes in the structure of studies were proposed. Influences of different educational traditions were apparent in the discussions that took place and in University policy after decisions had been made.

We can see clear examples of these different approaches in the deliberations that preceded the establishment of a department of education in 1935, and in the deliberations that preceded the structural reform in 1950 that led to the adoption of the American three-level degree structure and the introduction of undergraduate studies.

Political, economic, and demographic circumstances in Palestine in the 1930s affected the development of both higher and secondary education. The Hebrew University and the Technion grew rapidly after the rise to power of Hitler in 1933. The influx of Jews from central Europe into Palestine brought not only a large number of students but scholars, including noted scientists, who joined the faculties of the two institutions.

The establishment of a department of education at the Hebrew University was closely connected with the developments that took place in secondary education in Palestine. Immigrants in the 1930s, especially those from Germany who brought with them traditions of a high educational standard[29] and who maintained relative prosperity in Palestine, created a greater demand for secondary education for their children. However, there were not enough teachers and no pedagogical institutions to train them.

The first steps in establishing an education department at the University for the training of high school teachers were taken in 1930.[30] Two obstacles intruded, causing a delay in the department's opening until the academic year 1935-36. The first problem was economic: the University did not have the means to open a new department without securing external financial assistance. This problem was overcome with the help of the National Council for Jewish Education (NCJE) in the United States. The NCJE was organized in 1926 as a fellowship of the Jewish education profession comprising administrators and supervisors of Jewish educational institutions, agencies, and teachers in Hebrew high schools and Jewish teachers colleges. It conducts annual conferences, represents the profession before the Jewish community, promotes Hebrew culture and studies, publishes the Hebrew pedagogical journal, ***Sheviley ha-Hinnukh***, and the quarterly, ***Jewish Education***, and conducts a lectureship at the Hebrew University.[31] In its June 1933 convention, the NCJE formed the American Committee for a Department of Education at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to assume responsibility for the department's budget during its first three years.[32] The amount needed was $6,000, and it was raised from those engaged in Jewish education in the United States.[33] The committee set up an advisory board composed of prominent educators.[34] In 1938, the University accepted responsibility for the Department's budget, while the NCJE committee supported mainly the experimental school established by the Department.[35]

The financial problem was solved, but there remained a problem of principle. Doubts were raised concerning the state of pedagogy among scientific disciplines and the propriety of preparing teachers and other professionals.[36]

The plan to establish a department of education was initiated by the Chancellor, Dr. Judah L. Magnes (an American Reform rabbi, Zionist, Chancellor of the University from 1925, and President from 1935). His interest in education and his association with many Jewish educators in the United States dated back to the years when he served as leader of the Jewish ***Kehillah***, the organized Jewish community in New York City (1908-1922) and its Bureau of Jewish Education.[37]

The establishment of a department had to be proposed by the Executive Council, recommended by the Senate of the University, and finally approved by the Board of Governors. In 1933, the Senate appointed a pedagogical committee with representatives on it from various departments of the University (Greek, mathematics, philosophy, Arabic, Talmud, bacteriology, and education) and charged it to submit a proposal for the establishment of a department of education. The committee discussed its plan with faculty members as well as with educators outside the university, particularly from the department of education of the Jewish community in Palestine. The committee was interested in a detailed statement on the status of educational studies in universities in general and on the proposed functions of such a department at the Hebrew University in particular. A statement was submitted by Dr. Isaac B. Berkson, a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University, Professor of the Philosophy of Education at the City College of New York, and superintendent of the Jewish school system in Palestine.[38]

The difficulties surrounding the establishment of a department of education were expressed by Dr. Berkson in a memorandum to the Pedagogical Committee.[39] He referred to the above-mentioned doubts concerning the status of educational studies and, after citing England and the United States as examples of a change in attitude in academic circles toward educational studies, concluded: "It is not surprising, therefore, that similar prejudices existed in certain circles of the Hebrew University. There is now a general recognition that the educational studies are desirable, but unfortunately some of the converts have been influenced by very narrow considerations."

The main considerations of the "converts" were the difficulties which graduates of Hebrew University encountered in obtaining teaching positions in the Jewish school system without any pedagogical training. This is reflected in a resolution adopted by the University council at its meeting of 20 June 1934: "The need for educational training for students of the University was felt as soon as the first graduates of the Faculty of Humanities left the University, when it became clear that a large number of them would choose the teaching vocation."[40] The "narrow" position was expressed during the lengthy deliberations in the Pedagogical Committee.

Opposition to these "narrow considerations" was expressed by Berkson and others who thought that the role of a department of education should encompass more than training teachers. Berkson assigned four roles to the department:

> (1) Pedagogical training of students who are studying for an academic degree so that they could become qualified teachers;
>
> (2) Courses for teachers in service;
>
> (3) A two-year course for teachers who do not request an academic degree;

> (4) Opportunities for educational research and post-graduate courses including preparation for higher degrees, thus serving as a center for educational discussion and experiment and contributing to educational thought and practice.

In his memorandum, Berkson reflected the comprehensive views of educators both within the University and externally. A. M. Dushkin, the proposed head of a department of education, envisioned a department encompassing activities similar to the departments or schools of education in American universities.[42]

The Pedagogical Committee recommended a department of education which would include: "a teacher for practical pedagogy, a teacher for foundations of education, and a teacher for pedagogical psychology." It proposed "that an experimental school should be opened in conjunction with the department" and indicated that "the duty of the proposed department is to revitalize Jewish education in Palestine and that the university has an opportunity to influence the improvement of Jewish education in Palestine and in the Diaspora."[43]

Although the Senate adopted these recommendations on 20 June 1934, in practice the Department's functions were limited to teacher training for graduates of the various university departments. Dr. Alexander M. Dushkin (a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University; head of the Chicago Board of Jewish Education, 1923-34; director of the Jewish Education Committee in New York City, 1940-49; and from 1949 Director of Undergraduate Studies at the Hebrew University and head of its John Dewey School of Education) was appointed as "teacher for practical pedagogy with rank of lecturer"[44] and head of the Department. The Department opened for the 1935-36 school year with 35 students and offered three courses: Foundations of Teaching, School Hygiene, and Teaching Practice.[45]

From the beginning, the Department attempted to widen the narrow limits imposed upon it. The first annual report presented to the department's American committee read in part as follows:

> "The activity within the Department of Education should be the training of teachers, research and publication in the field of education, and educational leadership. Although the immediate and urgent mission is training teachers, the Department will not ignore the other duties and responsibilities that it took upon itself in other fields."[46]

The annual reports for 1936-37 and 1937-38 show some progress in staff recruitment in foundations and psychology, in developing curricular materials in Arabic and history, in the adaptation of achievement and intelligence tests, and especially in sponsoring the establishment of the Hebrew University secondary school to serve as an experimental and practice school for staff and students of the Department of Education. The school was known as the "American School" since its curriculum and structure were closer to the American high school than to the three types of central European gymnasia that existed in Palestine. Duskin recalled: "We have . . . insisted that teacher training must be related to observation and practice, and that was an American contribution. When we established the Department of Education we insisted that the training of teachers should not be merely on the basis of abstract lectures, but on the basis of actual experience in the laboratory school."[47] The Department did not enjoy independent status, however. Students took its courses in addition to their fields of specialization consisting of one major and two minors. They could not specialize in education as a degree subject, but upon completion of their education courses they were awarded a teaching diploma. Academic recognition of education as a minor was granted in 1944, and finally in 1950 the Department was able to offer degrees in education.[48]

The disputes over the establishment of the Department of Education and its academic recognition reflected the struggle of all new disciplines, especially in the social sciences, to gain academic status.[49] The controversies illustrated the conflict between the supporters of new fields of study and the broadening of the University's role in professional training and service to the public in ways similar to American institutions[50] and the supporters of the traditional classic and scientific study programs. The latter believed that the University should concentrate on its role of expanding knowledge and transmitting it to elite students in ways similar to the German universities, an approach which excluded practical subjects and ignored professional training except for law and medicine.

Another example of the conflict between these two traditions in higher education can be seen in the debate that took place prior to the establishment of the undergraduate program at the Hebrew University.

The idea of introducing undergraduate studies at the Hebrew University was discussed shortly after the University offered instruction leading to M.A. degrees in 1928.[51] It is no accident that individuals such as Chancellor Magnes and Dushkin who were familiar with the tradition of American higher education and individuals like Roth and Dinur who were close to the educational problems in Palestine were considered both the architects of this major educational reform and its main implementors as well.[52] The role of Professor Roth ought to be emphasized, because his position as Rector of the University from 1941 to 1943 gave him an opportunity not only to espouse the idea but to work towards its realization.

Roth submitted a detailed memorandum on undergraduate instruction to the executive council in which he described the University's role as caring for the general and Jewish education of its students as well for their "scientific specialization." He suggested rebuilding the University in three divisions: the first, modeled after an American college of arts and sciences, would instill the foundations of culture and would be open to everyone. The second would include broad liberal arts studies with some specialization; the third would aim at specialization in a particular field.[53] He meant to adopt the American three-level degree structure of the bachelor's, master's, and doctorate. Roth stressed in particular the need to introduce a lower degree, the bachelor of arts, for graduates of the first stage, after three years of study,[54] following the British rather than the American pattern, and the need for constant interaction between student and teacher, reflective of the British tutorial system. The British concept of higher education was a personalized process, requiring close contact between teacher and student, and the participation of both in a shared community.[55] The change in structure through the introduction of undergraduate studies was finally approved by the Faculty of Humanities in 1948 and implemented in 1951. The program adopted was a compromise between the supporters of the "Reform" who sought a general and Jewish education in the first stage of study similar to undergraduate studies in the United States and their opponents who believed in specialization through all stages according to the German model.

The compromise was a unique synthesis of models. It incorporated liberal education and scientific specialization and aimed at molding the character of educated youth. The compromise was reflected in the double structure of the program, with an attempt to integrate *both elements* on the undergraduate level. The program was divided into two nearly equal parts:

(1) "Basic Studies" (*Limudey Yesod*, meaning general education)
(2) "Professional Studies" *(Limudim Miktsoyim)*

The first part was to include courses in Judaica, the liberal arts, the Hebrew language, and a foreign language and literature and was intended for the first and second years of study. In the second stage, that of professional studies, students were expected to specialize in one major and one minor subject and to concentrate on these in the second and third years. In the second year, students were to take some general and some professional courses, and they were expected to complete their studies towards the B.A. degree in three years.[56]

There is no doubt that the cultural atmosphere and the spirit that found its expression in *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee* (1945)[57] influenced and encouraged implementation of the reform at the Hebrew University. An explicit expression of this influence was made by Dushkin, the first Director of Undergraduate Studies:

> "In developing its undergraduate curriculum, the University has naturally been influenced by the recent findings of universities aiming at general education in a free society . . . and from the view that undergraduate college education is intended for the general student, as against the continental emphasis on the elite, the gifted who are prepared for research and scholarship."[58]

The invitation to Dushkin, then director of the Board of Jewish Education in New York City, to become the first Director reflected the intentions of those who initiated this reform. N. Rotenstreich, who served as associate director of the program from 1952 after Dushkin was appointed to head the School of Education, recounted the reasoning behind the invitation to Dushkin:

> "Since the Department of Undergraduate Studies had a built-in educational conception, the University wanted as its Director an experienced educator. Since the direction of the Undergraduate Studies was conceived, as mentioned before, more on the lines of American than British, let alone European colleges, it was natural to look for an educator in the United States."[59]

Three years after the introduction of undergraduate studies Dushkin evaluated the entire program in a memorandum he submitted to the Faculty of Humanities. He summarized the goals of the reform as the forming of a three-year academic track that would function as a bridge between high school education and scientific and professional education. This would provide an opportunity to offer students university education, Hebrew and general; beginning of specialization in arts or science; guidance and personal tutoring; a specified academic system through which teacher and student might judge if the student, upon receiving his first degree, should continue toward a master's degree or whether he should consider his higher education completed at this stage.[60]

The first goal of the reform was to be attained by means of "basic studies" consisting of three components: "basic Hebraic studies," "general studies;" and "foreign languages." The second goal, "the beginning of specialization," was to be realized by each department in the University.

The stumbling block for reform was implementing the third goal, guidance and tutoring, one of its fundamental elements. This component adopted one of the important characteristics of higher education in England and was regarded by Dushkin as "the British contribution" to the American college idea.[61] Its importance and the difficulties in its implementation are attested to by the many discussions held in the Faculty of Humanities Council.[62] The last two goals of the reform were achieved through enforcement of a regulation that stated: "Only those students who have successfully fulfilled the requirements for their major studies (with the grade of "Good" at least) will be admitted to masters of arts studies."[63]

Baccalaureate studies opened new vistas in the expansion of the University's activity. Some departments were established on the basis of experience gained during the teaching of subjects in the "Basic Studies" section of the undergraduate program. For example, comparative literature, art, music, and foreign languages which at first were a part of the "Basic Studies" program gradually became independent departments. The reform also encouraged the establishment of professional schools, such as library science and social work, offering professional training on a university level. This trend coincided with the goals of the reform. The principle that influenced the development of the Hebrew University from then on was that a university trains students for intellectual, practical professions. This principle, while shared by the American utilitarian tradition and the provincial universities in England, was alien to the spirit of higher education in German universities.[64]

A constant search for new methods and a readiness to evaluate the "what" and "how" of academic structure and of individual courses, through sensitivity to the quality of teaching and the preparation of students, influenced the University, making it more flexible in accepting new ideas and methods. Thus, the reform unintentionally became a catalyst for the University's constant concern for changes and innovations in all areas of activity.

Conclusions

As mentioned previously, it is difficult to pinpoint which higher education tradition has had the dominant influence on Israeli higher education. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify specific sources of influence in certain decisions taken by the Hebrew University.

In general, a change in influence on the Hebrew University can be traced as a progression from the dominance of the German tradition to the British and then to the American. But the University made its own, unique synthesis of these influences. For example, the influence of the German tradition (which considered research as the main function of the university) can readily be seen in the initial decision to establish research institutes rather than teaching faculties. Even when the Hebrew University acceded to the demand to provide instruction and grant degrees and was reorganized into faculties (1928, 1931, and 1935) teaching was geared to the graduate level only and was combined with research.[65] The exclusion of engineering, technology, business administration, and the practical professions from the University's program was another example of German influence, these fields being taught in Germany in technical schools *(Technische Hochschule)* and in Israel at the Technion (technology and engineering). In contrast, British universities taught technical fields, including professional training, since the nineteenth century.

The administrative and academic bodies of the University were similar in structure and authority to the German model. This was reflected in the status of the rector as the academic head of the University and the power of the senate, composed of all full professors and representatives of other academic staff, in academic as well as in administrative affairs. One-third of the executive council was drawn from the academic staff which was represented as well in all governing bodies of the University. The independent status of the professors and their chairs and their nearly absolute autonomy were other indications of the influence of the German tradition.

The controversies over these various traditions were reflected in several conflicts among faculty members of the Hebrew University. The establishment of the Department of Education in 1935 marked a victory for supporters of American and British traditions which accepted community service and professional training as legitimate and important functions of a university. Support for these traditions was evidenced by the expansion of the University's curriculum and a flexibility which allowed the inclusion of new disciplines.

Another fundamental difference of opinion was apparent in the debate concerning the introduction of the bachelor's degree program. The final decision made in this dispute, which lasted from the 1930s until 1950, indicated the decisive influence of the American tradition of higher education with its three-level degree structure, although the distinctive characteristics of each level in Israel differ from those in the United States. Specialization and research are stressed at all levels at the Hebrew University.

As the system of higher education in Israel expanded, it lost its monolithic character and became more pluralistic, each institution trying to cater to diverse demands and needs thus adapting another basic characteristic of American higher education: comprehensiveness.

The conflict over the influence of the different higher education traditions was a continuous one, which surfaced whenever changes were contemplated in the structure or content of studies, particularly when new subjects from the social sciences were proposed.

While we have shown that higher education in Israel was shaped in its initial stages by the elitist European (especially German) tradition, the American pattern has gradually become the dominant influence, broadening the functions and the curriculum of the University to meet the needs of the individual and to serve society. However, this evolution occurred not through *imitation* of one particular model, but by *adaptation* of ideas in a distinctive way, affected and sometimes even directed by major events in the *Yishuv*, the Jewish community in Palestine, and in contemporary Jewish history.

NOTES

1. On the establishment of both the Technion and the Hebrew University, see *Toledot ha-Teckhniyon be-Reshito: 1908-1925* [History of the Technion in the Beginning: 1908-1925] (Haifa: ha-maḫlaka le-kishrei tsibur shel ha-Tekhnion, 1953) and *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1925-1950*, (Jerusalem; 1950). The system of transliteration used in this article is that of the Library of Congress, *Bulletin* 118 (Summer 1976): 63.

2. For more details see: *Toledot ha-Tekhniyon*, and Moshe Rinott, *Ḫevrat ha-Ezra le-Yehudei Germanya be-Yitisra uve-Ma'avak* [Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden — Creation and Struggle] (Jerusalem: ha-Universita ha-Yvrit, Misrad ha-Ḫinukh Veha-Tarbut, Universitat Ḫaifa, Makhon Leo Baeck, 1971).

3. For a comparative description of the characteristics of these systems see Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, and German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930);

Oliver C. Carmichael, *Universities: Commonwealth and American — A Comparative Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959); and H. L. Ody, *Begegnung zwischen Deutschland, England und Frankreich in Höheren Schulwesen seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Saarbrücken, 1959).

4. For background on the establishment of the University of Berlin, and its influence on higher education in Germany, see Edward Spranger, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und die Reform des Bildungswesens* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1910). For an historical description of the development of universities in Germany, see Friedrich Paulsen, *German Universities and University Study* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

5. For a comprehensive treatment of British universities, see Sir James Mountford, *British Universities* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) and Harold Silver and John Teague, *The History of British Universities, 1800-1969: A Bibliography* (Guildford, Surrey: University of Surrey, Society for Research in Higher Education, 1970).

6. General histories of American education include John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962); and Lawrence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

7. Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of The German Mandarins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969) and Karl Jaspers, *Die Idee der Universität* (Berlin: J. Springer, 1923).

8. See Lawrence Stone, ed., *The University in Society*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), vol. 1.

9. These universities are known under different names: "Civic" universities, "Provincial" universities, "Red Brick" universities. See Flexner, *Universities*, pp. 247-63, and, in particular, W. H. G. Armytage, *Civic Universities* (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1955).

10. John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, ed. with Introduction and Notes by Martin J. Svaglic (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), p. xvii.

11. Ibid., p. 134.

12. A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays*, (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1929), pp. 138-39.

13. Sir Richard Winn Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift* (Cambridge: University Press, 1943).

14. Oliver C. Carmichael, *Universities, Commonwealth and American: A Comparative Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), chap. 3.

15. For the historical background of the establishment and growth and the characteristics and contribution of the state universities, see Allan, Nevins, *The State Universities and Democracy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), pp. 27-37; Veysey, *The Emergence*;

and Joseph Ben-David, *American Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pp. 11-23.

16. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 18.

17. For the plan of the Jews of Sicily to found a Jewish university in 1466, see M. Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der Abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1880-84), vol. 2, chap. 9.

18. For the program of Rabbi David Provinciale (1564) to establish a "Community House of Knowledge" as a combination of a *Yeshiva* and a faculty for medicine and the sciences, see Simḥa Asaf, ed. *Mekorot le-Toledot ha-Hinukh be-Yisrael* [Sources for the history of education], 4 vols. (Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1925-48), 1:15 and 2:115-20.

19. Martin Buber, Bertold Feiwel and Chaim Weizmann, *Eine Jüdische Hochschule* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1902).

20. *Toledot ha-Tekhniyon*, pp. 30-38, and *ha-Tekhniyon ha-Ivri be-Haifa - Megamotav veHeseiseigav* [The Hebrew Technion in Haifa: its trends and achievements] (Jerusalem: Reuven Mas, n.d.).

21. For a detailed description of the inaugural ceremonies of the University see *The Hebrew University Jerusalem: Inauguration, April 1, 1925* (Jerusalem: "Azriel" Printing Works, November 1925). For general details of the development of the university until 1950 see Norman Bentwich, *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1918-1960* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1961), and Lotta Levensohn, *Vision and Fulfillment - The First Twenty Five Years of the Hebrew University, 1925-1950* (New York: Greystone Press, 1950).

22. On Jabotinsky's position concerning the policy of the Hebrew University and the dispute between him and Weizmann see Joseph Klausner and Norman Bentwich in *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1925-1950*, and Joseph B. Shechtman, *The Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky Story*, 2 vols. (New York: Thomas Yseloff, 1956), vol. 1, chap. 10.

23. Aḥad ha-Am, *Igrot* [Letters of Ahad ha-Am], 6 vols. (Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1956-60), 4:91-93, 5:172-75.

24. For Weizmann's position in this matter, see *Trial and Error*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1949), chap. 21.

25. *The Hebrew University Jerusalem: Inauguration, April 1, 1925*, p. 23.

26. Leo Kohn, "The Hebrew University 1925-1950" in *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1929-1950*, pp. 42-49.

27. Ibid., p. 46.

28. *Hebrew University Yearbook*, 1928/29 and 1931.

29. On the immigration during 1930s and its characteristics, see Alex Bein, *Toledot ha-Hityashvut ha-Tsiyonit* [History of the Jewish settlement in Israel] (Tel-Aviv: Masada, 1945), pp. 342-47, 362-65.

30. Alexander M. Dushkin, *Report on the Department of Education for the Academic Year Ended August, 1935*, submitted to the American Committee for a Department of Education at the Hebrew University in 1935.

31. *American Jewish Yearbook 1970*, vol. 71 (New York: American Jewish Committee, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970), p. 561. For the role and activities of the NCJE, see Judah Pilch, ed., *A History of Jewish Education in America* (New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1969), pp. 159-61.

32. The resolution is found in the minutes of the eighth convention, printed in *Jewish Education* 5, No. 3 (October-December 1933): 168, 173.

33. *Towards a School of Education at the Hebrew University in Palestine*, pamphlet, p. 7.

34. For example, William F. Russell, Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University, and Professors William H. Kilpatrick, and Edward L. Thorndike were among those consulted by Dushkin. See various letters during 1934-36 in Dushkin files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem.

35. American Committee for a Department of Education at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Memorandum Concerning Change in Budgetary Arrangement, New York, ca. 1938. (Mimeographed.)

36. For a historical survey on the subject of training high-school teachers, its framework, and trends in Europe and America, see I. L. Kandel, *The New Era in Education: A Comparative Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1955), pp. 102-14, and G. Z. F. Bereday and J. A. Lauwerys, eds., *The Education and Training of Teachers, The Year Book of Education, 1963*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), esp. chap. 7, sec. 1, and chap. 5, sec. 2.

37. On Magnes, see Norman Bentwich, *For Zion's Sake: A Biography of Judah L. Magnes* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954). On the *Kehillah*, see Arthur A. Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community: The Kehillah Experiment, 1908-1922* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), esp. pp. 86-133.

38. The following books by Berkson represent his educational thought: *Theories of Americanization: A Critical Study with Special Reference to the Jewish Group* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920); *Education Faces the Future* (New York: Harper & Row, 1943); and *The Ideal and the Community* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958).

39. Isaac Baer Berkson, "Memorandum on the Department of Education of the Hebrew University," Jerusalem, 10 January 1934, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem.

40. Agenda, II (4) (B) (a), Department of Education, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem.

41. "Din ve-Ḥeshbon ha-Va'ada ha-Pedagogi le-Moetset ha-Universita" (Report of the Pedagogical Committee to University Council) Jerusalem, 20 June 1934, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem. (Mimeographed.)

42. See for example Dushkin's detailed letter of 18 October 1933 to Professor J. Kliegler of the Hebrew University who was actively involved in the establishment of the department, as well as one to Chancellor Magnes, 30 March 1934, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem.

43. Pedagogical Committee's meeting of 25 February 1934, see note 41 above.

44. Minutes of Executive Council meeting, 17 October 1934, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem.

45. Dushkin's report mentioned above in n. 30.

46. Ibid.

47. "Conference on the Critical Problems of Education in Israel," New York, 24 April 1949, p. 100 (Transcript). This conference was sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women. Dushkin initiated this meeting to seek advice for the newly established state of Israel on educational matters from distinguished educators in the United States. The chairman of this conference was Paul Klapper, president emeritus of Queens College. Among the participants were William H. Kilpatrick, George Axtelle, Horace Kallen, Carleton Washbourne, and Clara Mayer.

48. File 2275, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem.

49. See for example J. Ben-David, "The Universities and the Growth of Science in Germany and the United States," *Minerva* 7 (1968-9): 1-35.

50. Those who supported the founding of the education department in the Hebrew University were people who received their academic training in the United States or had become familiar with higher education there: The Chancellor, Dr. Magnes; Vice Chancellor, Professor Max Schlessinger; Professor J. Kliegler; and educationists Dr. Berkson, E. Rieger, and A. M. Dushkin.

51. See A. M. Dushkin, "Limudei ha-Toar ha-Rishon le-Or ha-Nisayon" [Undergraduate studies experiment], Jerusalem: 21 December 1952, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem. (Mimeographed.)

52. Leon (Chaim Yehuda) Roth (1896-1963), professor of philosophy at Manchester University, Fellow of the British Academy and Ahad-Ha'am Professor of Philosophy at the Hebrew University, held the positions of Rector and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities. Ben-Zion Dinur (Dinaburg, 1884-1973) was principal of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem, professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew University, and later Minister of Education and Culture of Israel (1951-55).

53. "Al Tikun Shitat ha-Limudim ba-Universita" [Revising the structure of studies in the

University] Memorandum to the Executive council of the University, May 1943, in Ch. Y. Roth, *Limud Gavoha ve-Ḥinukh ha-Dor* [Higher learning and the education of the generation] (Tel-Aviv: Yavneh, 1944), pp. 111-21.

54. Ibid., pp. 67-88.

55. See for example Anthony Kerr, *Universities of Europe* (Court-Place: The Canterbury Press, 1962), pp. 107-8, and Barbara B. Burn, et al., *Higher Education in Nine Countries* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971), p. 83-85.

56. "Tohnit Limudim Leshem kabalat Toar Namukh ba-Fakultah le-Mada'aei ha-Ruaḥ" [Curriculum for B.A. degree in the Faculty of Humanities] Jerusalem, 17 February 1948, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem. (Mimeographed.)

57. *General Education in a Free Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945).

58. "Statement by Dr. Alexander M. Dushkin at Press Conference," 28 March 1949, Hebrew University Building, New York, Dushkin Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem. (Mimeographed.) Cf.:

> "I should like to say that more than we know America is influencing ideas in education in Israel. This phenomenon of the establishment of an undergraduate school is quite a radical revolution in university thinking. For a long time the Continent served as the example of higher academic education . . . because the professors were largely from Germany and Switzerland and other European countries. It was an institution primarily for the intellectually elect [elite?], for research . . . rather than an institution which also made possible general education in a free society. We began to talk of this back in 1935 and '36. It took some thirteen or fourteen years before the idea was accepted. It is accepted not in the imitation of American models, but as an adaptation of American ideas."

Dushkin, referring to Kilpatrick's talk "How to Teach in a College?" at the "Conference on the Critical Problems of Education in Israel," p. 101. See n. 47, above.

59. Nathan Rotenstreich, "Professor Dushkin and the Undergraduate Studies at The Hebrew University," *Jewish Education* 41 (1971): 99.

60. Dushkin's Report, pp. 3-4. See n. 51, above.

61. Ibid., p. 5.

62. Minutes of the Council of the Faculty of Humanities, 3 May and 7 July 1950; 16 May 1951; 13 June 1951.

63. Dushkin's Report, p. 12.

64. On the development of the university professional school and its status, see Ben-David, *American Higher Education*, pp. 92-94.

65. Cf.: "Higher education in Israel has from its inception followed the German university tradition of combining teaching and research, with the latter enjoying preferential status," Aharon F. Kleinberger, *Society, Schools and Progress in Israel* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969), pp. 266-67.

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